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THE HON. ROGER NORTH.

Ætatis 30.

THE LIVES

OF THE RIGHT HON.

FRANCIS NORTH, BARON GUILFORD,

LORD KEEPER OF THE GREAT SEAL,

UNDER KING CHARLES II. AND KING JAMES II.

THE HON. SIR DUDLEY NORTH,

COMMISSIONER OF THE CUSTOMS,

AND AFTERWARDS OF THE TREASURY, TO KING CHARLES II.

AND

THE HON. AND REV. DR. JOHN NORTH,

MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

AND CLERK OF THE CLOSET TO KING CHARLES II.

BY

THE HON. ROGER NORTH.

23569

A NEW EDITION.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS, HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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THE LIFE

OF THE

HONOURABLE SIR DUDLEY NORTH.

A Continuation of the farther Proceedings in the Avanious Demand of the Tunis Basha, and its final Conclusion: with an Account of another Avania, and the Lawsuit about the Misteria Privilege; with some Passages following upon the Defeat at Vienna; all which matters, being of like nature with the former, are here added, as they were extracted from other correspondencies from the same house at Constantinople.

"THE Vizier Azem having made his demand of fifteen purses, to determine that demand in favour of the English; which sum the Turks thought little, to free so great a demand; and the English thought it too much to give on so false a pretence; and the Turks, finding they could

fasten nothing certain on us, but good words, 'that the business being done, we would not be ungrateful;' the vizier again calls the ambassador to justice, with intention, to all appearance, really to condemn us in some very considerable sum, which, between him and the grand signor, should have been eaten up, and the basha get but little.

"When we were come to justice in the vizier's house, the basha makes a double demand against us of a thousand purses of money, specifying the particulars, till the vizier cried, 'Hold! it is enough;' and yet the basha cried, he had yet farther demands. The vizier demands the ambassador's answer; which was, in short, to deny all, and to argue that we were not liable to answer so unjust a demand. But, after all we could say, we had certainly been condemned, but that the ambassador found out an expedient to demand time to acquaint the king of England therewith; for which end a convenient time was granted.

"The demanding time, in Turkey, is commonly, by the Turkish officers, understood as if the party had a mind to compound with them. And certainly so the grand vizier understood it; which made him grant it so easily: but afterwards, finding soon how he was frustrated, I believe he heartily repented of it. Soon after, came advices to Constantinople of Sir John Finch's being recalled,

and my Lord Chandois going to succeed him, who would bring letters, in answer to his demand, from his majesty; which advice the ambassador sent to court, and thereby stopped all proceedings.

"A vizier is, in some measure, afraid of an ambassador, till he hath had his audience of the grand signor, where he may easily and unavoidably complain of him; which audience being once past, it is very hard for an ambassador to make complaints; because the vizier hath all his creatures about the grand signor: so that nothing can be done without attempting desperate means, which ambassadors, especially of rich nations, do not, but on very great exigencies, attempt. My Lord Chándois arrives at Constantinople, and brings from his majesty of England to the vizier, and to the grand signor, letters of two sorts; one to be delivered in case the vizier did not comply, of a high nature; and the other, as usual, of ceremony only, to be delivered in case all went well.

"In the first audience with the vizier, the ambassador, Lord Chandois, delivers the high letter from his majesty to the vizier, which the vizier read over all himself; and made no other reply thereto, only bade him welcome. In this letter of his majesty to the vizier, he found his avanias laid open, and the king of England demanding justice for the detention of the capitulations, a thing of a high nature; at which he was strangely

surprised: for, though it was not imputed to him, but his kaia (who had been strangled a little before) yet the vizier, to clear himself thereof, ordered three hundred purses, or a hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to be paid to the treasurer by the Jew his merchant, which was the sum the vizier received. The Jew pretended it was the dead kaia's money; but we knew well it was paid out of the vizier's own treasury; and the vizier ordered the ambassador not to say a word more of that matter. The money was received with all joy by the ambassador and nation, as a happy omen (being the ambassador's first negotiation) that all successes would be as prosperous: but there wanted not amongst us some who feared the ill consequences, which shortly after we found, paying too dear for this money.

" In the same letter his majesty told the vizier, that he had examined into the demand of the Basha of Tunis; in which he found all falseness and ingratitude; and that, after so great kindness as freeing his goods from pirates of Malta and Leghorn, which he neither was nor could be obliged to do; he therefore required to have the basha exemplarily punished, for making so unreasonable and false a demand. This letter had the desired effect; for the vizier wholly dismissed that business; which, I think, was all. But, since the Tunis basha is dead, and his heirs made the

same claim, which is overcome, and a *quietus* obtained; which hath removed all fears of farther trouble from it.

"Hitherto all goes well, and on our side: but the king's men of war, with the old ambassador, being departed, the grand vizier began to recollect with himself, how he had been deceived of his hopes by us, first in losing so great a sum, as he expected, out of the Tunis basha's business; and, secondly, in refunding such a sum as three hundred purses, which he had kept so long in his maw; and, therefore, resolved revenge upon us: And, consulting his jackals, the great customers of Constantinople and Smyrna, he was by them put into the following way.

A Seventh Avania, of about Three per cent. Custom of Silk outward.

"In Turkey, as in all countries, the importer pays one custom, and the exporter another; but, at Smyrna, to avoid stealing of custom, which the Franks performed more cunningly than the people of the country, the Turks found it least liable to cheats to receive the exporting custom of the seller; so that the Frank, by his own hands, as exporter, pays no custom. But, in the form of the capitulations, we are to pay three per cent. custom outwards, as well as inwards. Upon which foot, the vizier demands three per cent. on all

silk that had been shipped in five years time last past; which account would have produced near two hundred purses of money, or a hundred thousand dollars. The vizier, having had so ill success in meddling with the ambassador himself, thought fit to send him word, he had nothing to say to him, but, the customer demanding against the merchants, he must and would do him justice. Upon this account, the ambassador is sent for to the vizier's, with positive orders to bring all his merchants with him; which he was forced to obey; and there found many of the great officers of the empire.

"The Turks at first were very civil to the ambassador, declaring that this was the customer's demand against the merchants, in which the vizier must do justice. The kaia went into another apartment to the grand vizier; and, returning to the ambassador, declared, that the vizier had ordered the merchants to be put in prison, till they paid the custom of silk exported. To which the customer replied, there was no occasion for such a crowd, two of the chief were enough. So two merchants of the chief house were seized by the *chiauses*. The ambassador urged what was possible to be alleged in our defence, but could not be effectual; when, taking one of them by the hand, he had great affronts put upon him; which farther to prevent, they stole away with their

chiauses; and his lordship retired to his house, hoping time would show some remedy to this desperate business.

"But, to show how great a height of irreligion the Turks are come to, in acting this violence contrary to their own law, take this passage, which happened to one of the merchants, who was a chief actor in this affair. He finding that, with his companion, he was going to prison, which, in Turkey, is extreme bad, and the prisoners exposed to great cruelties and tortures, thought best to say somewhat for himself; and thereupon he cried out, in the Turkish language, 'That the Vizier Azem's command was to put the silk merchants in prison for custom due from them; and that he was no silk merchant, and had never shipped any, and appealed to their law.' Now, the Turkish religion hath this article in it, that the Turk, who refuseth to go to the law, when required, is divorced from his wife, his children are bastards, and he an infidel. All the great officers were startled at this appeal; but the customer of Constantinople, with great threats, told the merchant that he would prove it upon him; and so bade the officers carry him away, which they did.

"They continued in prison, in all, forty-two days; in which time there wanted not treaties to accommodate the business, which, at last, with

utmost difficulty, was concluded, by payment of an hundred and ten purses, or fifty-five thousand dollars. The merchants continued tolerably in health thirty-eight days, when one of them, he that had appealed to the law, fell ill; and, upon occasion of the ambassador's interpreter coming to him, he said to the interpreter, in Turkish, 'That he would not die there: if he owed any man any thing, he would pay him: if he had done any crime, let his head fly: since the ambassador could not free him, he had slaves in his house, and he would send one of them with an *arze** to the grand signor.' This was thought, considering the spies that constantly attended them, to contribute not a little to a speedy conclusion; for, in two or three days time after, they were freed.

"To demonstrate farther the precipitate violence of Cara Mustapha, I will add what happened to the chief Dutch merchant and secretary to the ambassador, Signor de Brusses. He had a demand on a Greek for a thousand dollars, for which he was forced to carry him before the vizier, where, making some small mistake, the vizier said he was a cheat. To which he replied, 'That Franks use not to make false demands.' The vizier understanding that to reflect on Turks,

* [An irresistible appeal to the Grand Signor with fire, to be, on failing of right, capital.]

as saying they did, was so angry, that he immediately ordered him two hundred drubs on the bare feet, in public divan, of which he had a hundred and eighty; and it was thought he never recovered it, for soon after he died."

An Account of the Misteria Privilege in Turkey, by the Merchant imprisoned, and who appealed to the law, as above.

"THE misteria is a duty of one per cent. upon all goods by measure, and one and a half upon all goods sold by weight. This lies very heavy on some goods, and was exacted very troublesomely on our English merchants, especially for their lead and tin.

"A Jew was farmer of this duty in Tikerdag, a little city near Constantinople. This man, having to do with Armenians, had great contests with them; and the better to fortify himself in his demands, and to get the duty of them, sought to get the barratt itself, which is the patent of the Misteri-aga of Galata, and the order or warrant of the duty; but they that had it, would by no means produce it. This Jew, being a cunning fellow, and resolving, if possible, to get the better, whatever it cost him, applied to the grand signor's chief page, called Sellectar-aga; and, by laying out about two hundred dollars in small agreeable presents, he obtains an authentic copy

of the Misteri-aga's barratt. But it stood him in no stead; for it did not contain any warrant for his claim against the Armenians.

"Upon this, he was much offended, and, finding his money thrown away to no purpose, desired, by any means, to get some of it back again. In order to which, he applied himself to me, whom he thought he might safely trust; and, by making some small discoveries to me, as he thought might well turn to account, for what he might receive for his pains, not imagining, as was believed, that the import was so great as it proved, obtained a promise of a reasonable reward, and left the book with me. I for divers weeks together strictly examined it, and, in so doing, was much surprised to find how the nation was abused, by being made to pay sharp duties, without any title or warrant. And, thereupon, I acquainted the ambassador and the nation with this discovery, and the evidence I had, by an authentic copy of the barratt; and thereupon the ambassador gave the Jew a reward of a hundred dollars; and it proved the saving to the nation of above two thousand five hundred dollars per annum, in that place; for, in several lawsuits before the kaimacham, cadis, &c. we obtained sentence in our favour.

"It may not be amiss to relate the manner of our proceeding. The French ambassador, at his audience, sought an article to settle the misteria,

which much startled me; for I concluded, if it were settled by capitulation with one Frank nation, they would hear nothing against it from others; and thereupon I communicated this grand secret to a French merchant, and showed him what might be gained by law, and how their article would deprive them of that advantage. The Monsieur was sensible, and wrote to the ambassador so as stopped the proceeding in that point. Our ambassador, understanding this, was in a most furious rage with me, as if I had disclosed the secrets of his nation. But I gave him reason, upon consideration of which he was satisfied.

"After this, I called the misteri-aga to law, and the cause came at last to hearing before the vizier. He refused to compel the aga to show his barratt, as giving opportunity to pick holes in it; but said, 'If you would know any particular matters, I will search and tell you.' Then I asked what duty I was to pay for ——; the aga demanded ——————————; and it was, upon search, found to be but ——————————: difference enough; and the vizier ordered that to be the rate. Then, having this encouragement, I came to my main point; 'Sir,' said I, 'I have brought in great quantities of lead and tin, necessary for the wars, at a time when you cannot be without it.' The vizier took good notice of that lead and tin, and, searching, found it to pay but

———————, at which the aga was much startled, for he demanded, and used to receive ———————. This was a thing so unexpected to both the vizier and aga, that they fell to searching the barratt over and over again; but, after all, could find no other rate: whereupon sentence went accordingly; to which the conjuncture of the wars did not a little contribute. But, all this while, the copy was a great secret, and so ought to continue among the merchants for ever; for it serves only to point out the weak places. And, if the copy had then been showed, it would have been taken from them, and means found to trace the deliverer, and the Jew, as well as his friend, have suffered fatally for it.

"This service I did the company and nation in Turkey; and, in my return, expected their acknowledgments in some honorary way; but, so far from that, I have not had common thanks, and scarce good looks; which confirms an old lesson, that 'He who serves a community, must secure a reward by his own means, or expect it from God.'"

Some Passages since the cutting off Cara Mustapha, and his ill Management of the Hungarian War; by the same Merchant.

"ORDERS were sent to Belgrade (where, after the rout at Vienna, he was retreated) for taking off his head; and, at the same time, to Constanti-

nople, by the great master of the horse, for seizing all his estate;' which was done with great rigour.

"This master of the horse (now vizier) was an old friend to our nation; which disposed the ambassador to wait on him, telling him how barbarously we had been treated, and instanced in divers particulars. Sullaman Aga, as he was called, desired these might be listed, and given to him, saying he would show it to the grand signor; which was so done, and, among others, the list showed that of Pentloe's estate, that imported two hundred and ten thousand dollars. The grand signor, on sight of the list, ordered that, due proofs being made, the heirs of the vizier should be made to give satisfaction. So all seemed hopeful, and very fair.

"But that putting us upon proofs was, in truth, as much as to say we should have nothing; for to bring legal witness was next to impossible. Our own dragomen and servants were Christians, whose testimony passeth not against Turks; then, such bribing tyrannizing businesses are always acted underhand, with all privacy; so that few or none but the very actors know of them. And, divers times, the vizier's money was assigned to Jews, whose testimony also will not pass; and the actors were the vizier's creatures, who, on his death, were generally dispersed: so that there is no proof left, except Usine Aga, the great cus-

tomer of Constantinople. This man could testify all, and find other witnesses; but never will be persuaded to it."

Memorandums of some things that passed in the Transactions at Adrianople, 1675, when Sir John Finch had his Audience of the Grand Signor, and renewed the Capitulations:

"AT Sir John Finch's first arrival at Adrianople, he was infinitely displeased with his conack (or lodging), it being neither for honour nor convenience fit for his lordship's reception; the fault of which was imputed to Signor Antonio Perone, his second dragoman, who had been there almost two months before, chiefly for the providing his lordship's honourable reception and convenience there. His lordship's anger proceeded to that height against Signor Antonio, that he vowed, with the most execrable protestations, never to be reconciled, nor to suffer him to stay in town; but threatened to warn him, in twenty-four hours, to be gone for Constantinople, else he would have him drubbed. Signor Antonio took no farther notice thereof, but retired to his private lodging, and gave out, that his affairs required him at Constantinople, whither he was ready to go. Signor Georgio Drapieres, the chief dragoman, the next day, by order from court, had a better house, belonging to a Jew, emptied, whi-

ther his excellency removed; still keeping the other also for servants, &c. which somewhat appeased. Then, after the end of three days, Mr. Hyat advised Signor Antonio to humble himself to my lord, and ask his pardon. He went presently, and did it; and my lord immediately forgave all, and took him into as full grace and favour as ever.

" His excellency, thus settled, called the nation together, and advised with them, what new articles he should demand to be inserted in the capitulations; which being agreed upon, and turned into Turkish, they were sent to the vizier's kaia, that they might be by him presented to the vizier, having first had the advice of the reis effendi (or chancellor as to acts of state), who had promised his assistance in the passing. The kaia received them very favourably, giving the like fair promises of his assistance. Some days after, the dragomen soliciting for an answer from the kaia and reis effendi; it was demanded whether, in the article relating to the custom of cloth, the cloth of his own nation only, or that of other nations also, was intended; which his excellency was glad to hear; and, to clear that point fully, sent them word, that he meant it only for English cloth, and was willing they should except Dutch, French, and Venetian, expressly by name, if they pleased. The dragomen, continuing this solicitation, were told, that matter of the articles

must be consulted with the teftardar, or chief treasurer; but the grand signor keeping then solemn feasts upon the circumcision of his son, and marriage of his daughter, they must attend till those were over, before any business would be done, nor could they, but very seldom, during those feasts, come to the speech of either the kaia, or reis effendi.

"The holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, for many ages, had remained in the custody of the Latins; though all sorts of Christians had permission of saying their mass and prayers there at certain seasons, and in a certain course. Now there was a certain Greek, Paniotache by name, who had served the Germans for many years as chief dragoman, and, during the wars in Candia, was in the camp with the vizier; where, being serviceable, he had obtained his favour in a great degree; and, taking his times, insinuated into the vizier, that the Greeks were faithful subjects of the Turkish empire; whereas the Latins, or Franks, had kingdoms and empires, and lived in hopes again to conquer, and possess the Holy Land, whenever they might be but at peace among themselves; and that this their custody of the holy sepulchre, was a kind of footing, that they pretended to hold of their old right. That among Christians, the custody of that holy place was looked on as a great honour and prerogative, and

that it was much fitter for the honour of the Turkish empire, that their vassals, who were faithful to them, and had no other dependence, should be honoured with it, rather than strangers, who, for the most part, are in perpetual hostility, and, at best, but false friends. By such means, he obtained privately (his own nation knowing little thereof, until it was done) a solemn grant of the thing desired, confirmed by the grand signor's own signature. But, considering how he had been all along a servant to the Franks, he enjoined the Greeks not to make use thereof until after his decease, which, not long after the vizier's return from Candia, happened; when the Patriarch of Jerusalem took out commands, and was put in possession of the Sepulchre, and the Franks drove out, without being able by any means to defend themselves; though great offers of money had been made, and all endeavours used.

"The friars of Jerusalem that attended this business, desirous to move every stone that might be for their advantage, hearing that his lordship intended a renewal of the capitulations, were very desirous to get an article inserted in their favour, which, one day, might be a means for obtaining their point. For they found that, in the maintenance of the privileges they had long enjoyed, and had many private grants for, they wanted the solid fund of a nation, and an ambassador

to stand up for them, which, in Turkey, are things of a considerable figure, and can at any time press business, when poor friars cannot be heard; especially those that live in Jerusalem, that are Spaniards, who have no peace or treaty with the Turks. Thereupon they applied to his lordship, and showed him the article they desired, both in Turkish and Italian, telling his lordship that they would willingly spend, to have it inserted in the capitulations, the sum of fifteen thousand dollars. Whereupon his lordship procured a private audience of the kaia, and moved him in the matter, who very kindly received him, and, when he moved the matter relating to the Frank friars, had very fair words given him, and great hopes that the same should be obtained; to such a degree that his lordship thought the business most easy to be done, and feared somebody else might get it before him, so he conjured the kaia, that it should not be granted to any other but himself.

" His excellency then also treated about giving his majesty of England the title of Padisha, as the French have in their capitulations. He received most civil and courteous expressions from the kaia, with great promises, &c. But he was told that now, during the feasts, nothing could be treated of; but, as soon as they were over, he should have all imaginable dispatch. Things

standing thus, and the dragomen taking all opportunities to solicit, were often told by the kaia, and reis, that the articles had been several times read over to the vizier, and that all were passed, only in the article concerning securing the goods of English principals, in the hands of such factors as should become Turks; whereas it was required, that Christian witness might pass in such cases, it could not be so granted; but the proofs were put upon the treasurer's books, and bills of lading, wherewith his excellency was well satisfied.

"About this time, when his excellency intended another visit to the kaia, the dragomen were sent for, and the kaia told them, that the grand signor, having occasion to send an aga to Tunis from Smyrna, it was desired that he might be transported in an English ship; to which purpose he required his letter to the consul of Smyrna; which, though unwillingly, (yet not thinking it fit, in these exigencies, to deny what they must think so small a matter) his lordship granted. But the letter, being in such general terms, and too indifferent, would not do at Smyrna, so the messenger returned for a more positive order; which also, on the same reasons, was granted, and the business done. Hereupon his excellency took occasion to mention the business of Tripoli, and was promised, that the vizier, by this messenger, should write effectually, as they said he did; though no letter

was seen, but his excellency, on his part, wrote, by the said Turk, a letter to Sir John Narborough to the same purpose.

" The Greek patriarch, having now got knowledge of his excellency's having undertaken the business for the Latin friars, came and demanded an audience of his lordship, wherein he laid down the ancient protection the Greeks always had from the English nation, desiring in like manner his lordship's continuance thereof. Whereunto his lordship replied with all civility and fair words, undertaking to adjust the business between the Franks and them, provided they would stand to what was right and reason; whereupon his lordship had large discourse with them, entering into the particular matters of the business, still arguing in favour of the Franks, so that the Greeks went away with little satisfaction. A few days after, the patriarch of Jerusalem wrote a letter to his excellency, wherein he pretended to be indisposed, so that he could not attend his lordship in person, but desired that Mr. Covel, our minister, might be sent to him, having some things to discourse, which were not proper for a letter. At his coming, the patriarch declared openly, that he well knew the ambassador, for a sum of money, had undertaken the Latins part; but that he should write to the king of England, and the archbishop of Canterbury, from whom he doubted not but his lordship

would receive as much thanks for assisting them as the others.

" About this time also, letters came from England, relating severe courses against the Roman Catholics, and his excellency much cooled in the friars' business, and began to declare, that he would not put their article into the capitulations; but he would endeavour to procure them another hattesherif in their favour. At this the friars were much troubled, and pressed all they could to have it in the capitulations, offering more money; but, not being heard, were contented it should be as his excellency pleased.

" His excellency, during the feasts, sent frequent presents of wine of Christendom, &c. to the kaia, and to Usine Aga, the great customer of Constantinople; unto whom also his lordship very much desired to give a treat at his house, and often sent to invite him. But he never came, though he many times promised it; and always, when he saw the dragomen, either at the kaia's, or elsewhere, he spoke most kindly to them, saluting the ambassador, &c. And once, the dragomen passing by, he called them up, and told them, that all the demands his excellency had made, were granted, and that henceforward, the king of England should be called Padisha as well as the French king: but withal wondered, that they should think such grants were to be obtained for

nothing, and told them, money was expected; whereupon the dragomen went to the reis, and acquainted him therewith, who also confirmed the same to them, and farther said, he understood the same from the kaia. The dragomen coming with this news to his excellency, he rejoiced at it, taking it as a sure argument of the success of his business, and next day he sent the dragomen to the kaia, and promised him one thousand chequines for the vizier, one thousand dollars for himself, and the like for the reis.

" In this posture the business stood during the feasts. Until those were over, there was no hopes, either of audience, or knowing any greater certainty of our business. However, the dragomen often went to the kaia, and reis, and always brought from them news, that all was granted, and that, when the feasts were over, his lordship should have his audience, and be dispatched. The feasts ended, and applications were made for dispatch, and it was promised to be suddenly; but put off for some weeks, till the day of pay* was come. During all which time, solicitations being

* [I think, Sir Paul Rycaut takes notice, that the Turks pay their officers their salaries in the presence of some foreign ambassador; to the intent that other nations may be witnesses of the great riches of the Turkish empire, when they shall see four or five hundred thousand dollars upon the table. This is what is meant here by the pay day.] *Note in the Original.*

also made concerning the business, it was again reported, that some of the articles must be showed to the teftardar; which much displeased his excellency, fearing Usine Aga might have done somewhat prejudical to the cloth article: whereupon it was thought good (Usine Aga never having come to his lordship) that his lordship should make him a visit, to see whether or not any opposition was to be feared from him; and, for the better colour, his excellency pretended to discourse him upon some disputes about the custom of silk. After they had talked some time together, Usine Aga told the ambassador, that he had to acquaint him as a friend, of a business, which was by grant of the grand signor, and that was concerning the new Custom-house at Smyrna, where all ships were now ordered to come and unload, as at Constantinople; the which, he told his excellency, it was in vain for the Franks to oppose, so counselled him not to stir in it. Whereunto his lordship replied very little, only that he had not yet any cognizance of the case, but should carry himself therein with all justice and moderation; and so they parted with great professions of mutual kindness.

"His excellency, for better countenance to the dragomen in their complaint of delaying his audience, wrote a letter to the kaia, pressing expedition, and desiring to know if there was any stop

in his business, and where it lay, declaring himself ready to argue any point before the vizier, with any one that should oppose it; desiring also his counsel how he should behave himself, and whether he would advise him to make any applications directly to the vizier, or no; whereto the kaia answered with all kindness possible, that his excellency should not trouble himself, but that all was well, and granted; and that as soon as the teftardar could get money ready for the pay, my lord should have his audience and dispatch.

"Pay-day came, and my lord received his audience with the usual formalities; then new applications were made to the kaia, for dispatch; and, instead of finding all things complete and done, it appeared that they had then only begun to read over the articles, and to consult what was fit to be done. This was most evident, in regard the paper, which his excellency gave in with the articles at first, could not be found for some time. The kaia and reis putting the having thereof on one another; and, at last, after much search, it was found in the hands of a page of the vizier's. And, as for the word Padisha, my lord was told positively, that the grand signor would not consent that it should be put in. After some time, the articles were brought to my lord, as they were drawn up by the reis, in phrase fit for the capitulations, which was with great joy read over to his

excellency; but being showed to the vizier, he caused them to be wrote over again in two papers, the one of which contained such articles, as had any relation to the revenue, as the custom of cloth, silk, &c. the which the vizier caused to be sent to the teftardar basha, to have his opinion, whether it contained any thing prejudicial to the public treasure; but the others he gave with his beycardish (or order) that they should be wrote in the capitulations. Hereupon the dragomen applied to the teftardar, and had many conferences with him. He demanded for what reason they desired these articles, and why the capitulations might not pass as they had done hitherto. Whereto was replied, that it was that we might be at a certainty, and not to fall every day in dispute with ignorant and impertinent customers. To that he, smiling, answered, that was not the reason; our intent was, to bring a finer cloth than we did formerly, and to pay no more custom than for a coarse. However he promised to pass it. He had some discourse also about the hattesherif of Aleppo, why it could not remain as it had done many years, and that now it must needs be put into the capitulations. However he rested satisfied, and said all should pass; but yet we had great doubts and fears; and the business not being done, my lord, the next day, made another visit to the kaia, wherein his excellency argued the

cloth business, and gave in to the kaia a list of the extraordinary custom we paid on many other goods; to all which the kaia answered, that his lordship need not doubt but the teftardar would pass all, and the business should suddenly be done.

"At this audience, his lordship had some discourse likewise about the word Padisha, to which the kaia answered, that it was just and reasonable, and that he would move the vizier again about it. Also his excellency moved the kaia in the business of the friars of Jerusalem, to which the kaia seemed easy, and desired an arze, or petition, to move the vizier thereon, which his excellency, having ready, gave him, and he promised to deliver it to the Vizier Azem, and move him on their behalf.

"Few days after, the articles being come to the reis, and he having begun to ingross the capitulations, the kaia minded the dragomen of the money they had promised, bidding them get it ready; which was accordingly done, and, by his excellency's order, a day was appointed for the payment thereof. And because the teftardar had so civilly passed the articles, a present was ordered by his excellency for him, which the dragomen and treasurer going to deliver, they met the news of his being displaced (for he was made basha of Grand Cairo), so they returned, and saved that pre-

sent. The appointed day for the payment of the money being come, the treasurer and dragomen went with the same, and finding the kaia in the vizier's house, he told them, it was very well, but he would not meddle therewith before he had spoke with the basha. Thence they went to the reis effendi, who willingly took the money brought for him, and, showing the articles, which were then drawn up fair, all was as expected, only the article concerning turning Turk; and there, whereas it was said the proof should be put upon the treasurer's books and bills of lading, that was quite taken out, and the thing left without any proof at all, but as the law of the country stood.

"The dragomen going to the kaia for an answer to the arze, in behalf of the friars of Jerusalem, the kaia told them his excellency would do well to leave all thoughts of that matter; for the vizier would not hear of it; but as a business done by the grand signor, it must remain as it is. And, for the capitulations, they went on, and the dragomen daily brought an account of the progress; as their being wrote, signed by the reis, the turah, or royal firm, set, &c. and remaining in the hands of the vizier, who waited an opportunity to present them to the grand signor to sign.

"The dragomen going daily to the kaia, to press expedition, received promises, that all would be ready suddenly, and inquiring the vizier's plea-

sure, concerning the money promised, received for answer, that he had spoke with the vizier thereof, and that he said, he had not hitherto taken any thing of any ambassador, and would not now; but what he had done was for right and justice. Whereupon it plainly appeared, that, notwithstanding the kaia, in the beginning, had pressed for money, yet the vizier knew nothing of it; nor did he expect, but what was done would have been without any mention of it; and all was a stratagem of the kaia and reis to get money for themselves.

"The dragomen pressed again about the word Padisha, to which the kaia replied, that he had endeavoured all that was possible, but without effect; not having been able to obtain it, though he, in opposition to the French, desired it so much, that he would willingly spend five purses (or two thousand five hundred dollars) of his own money, that we might have it. These answers his excellency received with great joy, and immediately ordered the treasurer and dragomen to carry him his money the next day; and, seeing the vizier had, with so much gentility, refused the money, the dragomen were ordered to tell the kaia, that his lordship had the same books of Atlas, which the Dutch had formerly presented to the Grand Signor, which, if he thought they would be acceptable, he would present to the grand vizier, toge-

ther with some superfine vests of cloth, at his audience, when he should receive the capitulations from his hand. To which the kaia answered, that he would acquaint the vizier, and know his pleasure concerning the books; but, for his part of the money, they might bring it; which was accordingly done the next day, betimes in the morning, to his own house, where, after the treasurer and dragomen had some time attended his coming out, they understood that he had taken horse at the women's apartment; which when the dragomen were apprised of, they ran to him, and told him, that they had brought the money, which he bade them deliver to his treasurer, or chief page; but when the kaia was gone, the hasnadar absolutely refused to meddle with it, without immediate order from the kaia, saying he had many times received blame in such cases, the money paid him having proved less than it ought to have been. So the dragomen went to the vizier's house, and spoke with him thereof, when he wrote two words on a scrap of paper, which being brought to the hasnadar, he made no farther scruple, but took the money, in a manner as if it had been payment of a due debt, bending and trying the pieces of gold, and telling it twice over.

"The dragomen still continue their solicitations for dispatch, but without effect; all answers being still dilatory, that the vizier could not be

spoke with, and other put-offs. His excellency fell into an extreme passion against the dragomen, accusing and blaming them, and vowing that if in two days time he had not a positive answer when his business should be done, or where it stuck, that he would make new applications to the vizier by means of Mauro Cordato, a Greek dragoman to the grand signor's divan, or go in person himself, to the kaia without them. This spirited the dragomen to press all that they could possibly, acquainting their friends of their condition; and, about three days after, they bring word to his lordship, that, on Friday following, his excellency should have audience of the vizier, and receive from his hands the new capitulations, and letters to the king of England; which appeased all, and the treasurer, in consideration of the monies being refused, was ordered to prepare a handsome present to be given to the vizier at that time.

"Things standing thus, just on the conclusion, there arrives an express from Smyrna to his excellency, with letters from the consul, signed by the whole nation there, praying his excellency to protect them in their ancient rights and privileges, against the innovations of Usine Aga, chief customer of Constantinople, who pretended to make them land and ship off all their goods at the scale of the new Custom-house, and no more at their own

houses, as they had done formerly; but his excellency did not, in this conjuncture, think fit so much as to take notice of his receipt of such a complaint.

" Friday now drawing near, Signor Antonio Perone, the second dragoman, the very day before, went to the kaia to see if the audience held for the next day, as had been appointed; and, discoursing the kaia, he found the appointment stood good, but that there was not any hattesherif (or grand signor's handwriting) upon the capitulations, as we always used to have; the kaia saying, the Venetians and French not having any, there was no need thereof. Whereunto the dragoman replied, that, we having had one to our former capitulations, he knew well his excellency would be infinitely displeased, not to have it now; but all the answer he could have, was that it could not be. Thereupon, without coming to my lord, he went immediately to the reis effendi, urging the same to him; who also said, that the vizier had declared, there should be none, nor would he alter; and when he pressed him to move the vizier again, he absolutely refused it, saying, he knew the vizier to be a man firm to his resolutions, and not to be moved. Yet Signor Antonio, knowing the consequence of this matter, returned again to the kaia, and pressed him so far, that he procured him to write to the vizier's

Muhurdar (or privy seal-keeper), a favourite page, to move the vizier in it, from whom also, after some time, answer came, that he neither durst nor would move the grand signor in it. On this, Signor Antonio ran and fetched the old capitulations, which had the hand-writing of this present grand signor upon it, and laid them before the kaia, telling him what an unreasonable thing it was, that the new capitulations should want the force the old ones had; for how could it be said, that a lesser authority could enforce a greater? After all which, the kaia was prevailed upon to write himself a memorial to the vizier, which he sent by him, together with the old capitulations; and not long after received an answer in writing. Whereupon he called the dragomen, and told them that the business was done, and that he should salute the ambassador, and tell him that he hoped to get it ready in a few days more, saying that he might say three to the ambassador, but he doubted not but in two to have it done.

" This transaction, when thus passed, was related to the ambassador. He was extremely angry, not only with the dragomen, but the kaia and reis, that they had not sooner acquainted him with this difficulty, and now, after he was come to a period, and the audience set for the very next day, to be put off without having any time fixed, was grievous to that degree, that his lordship was

very sorry it was insisted on, but rather would have been content without it, thinking it enough that the French and Italians had it not. But it must needs have reflected much on his excellency's proceeding, to have come short of that his predecessors had obtained, and whereof we had swaggered and gloried so much.

" The dragomen are at their old trade of soliciting for dispatch, and many days pass; sometimes they find the kaia argue against the necessity of having it, but yet he told them it should be done, and that, in order to it, the capitulations are in the hands of the vizier's muhurdar, to be presented to the grand signor, with several other writings, as soon as *talkish*, or signing-time, should be made to the grand signor. Whereupon his excellency ordered a present of four vests to be made to the muhurdar, to make him mindful thereof; and the old capitulations being also taken to show the grand signor at his signing, to demonstrate the precedent; not long after, news was brought that the grand signor had signed them, and that his excellency should be ready to come to audience of the vizier when he should be called to receive them, which was accordingly done, not many days after; and Wednesday, the eighth of September, at three in the afternoon, appointed. When his excellency, going a little too soon, waited in the kaia's apartment till

prayers were over; and, being called to the audience of the vizier, he received from his hands the capitulations, with the grand signor's own letters to the King of England. This being performed, presents given and received, my lord returned with great joy.

"Thus ended our tedious attendance at Adrianople, which lasted near five months in the hottest season of the year; the town crowded by means of the feasts, and the plague raging excessively, and though his lordship lived in the fields and tents, yet, at last, it was got into his family, and some died, which made our remove to be as hasty as was possible to make it."*

A thought of being ambassador.

I shall here insert some few memoirs, which will not fall apter in any other place. And first, that after our merchant had been at the head of such great managements at Constantinople, and understood the Turkish economy so well as he did, he was not without thoughts of making an English interest to have the authority of ambassador there, in the room of Sir John Finch. It was known, that his excellency was to be recalled, and another sent out, which proved to be the

* [In the original MS. I found the Italian letter inserted here; but, thinking it would less break the connexion of the story, I have put it by itself at the end of the book.]—*Note by the author.*

Lord Chandois. But in the interim, our merchant wrote to his best friend (not to the Company, or to any Turkey merchant whatever) to let him know that such a thing was practicable, and, if it might with interest be obtained, he did not doubt but to do the nation better service than any before had ever done. But his brother Mr. Mountagu North enlarged, and was exceedingly far gone with the project; he raised many objections and then answered them; as for instance, that one known to have been a merchant might be despised; to which he answered, that the Turks have no regard to quality, but that of the commission; with much more to the same intent. But the only effect it had with us, was to show, that they knew as little of London, and interest at court here, as we did of Constantinople and the Turkish court there. But this design never took wind, nor was known to any one upon the Exchange.

Notes about ambassadors at Constantinople.

The Turks have a sacred regard to ambassadors, and will punish severely affronts done to any of them; but they neither have any notion of, nor will they be made to understand the difference between an envoy resident, and ambassador; and the Dutch resident there hath the same respect as any ambassador; and when matters of precedency, or the like, occasion that difference to be spoke of to them, "What," say they, "has he not a commission? have you more? and is not

all the rest nothing?" The Spaniards neither have, nor ever had an ambassador at the Porte; which perhaps may be derived from their hatred to all Mahometans, for the sake of the Moors; and the grand signor pretends to a large territory in Africa, and is owned, though little obeyed there. Several petit monarchies send ambassadors occasionally, and they are entertained as such, though their business be little else but selling of slaves. A Mingrelian ambassador came to Constantinople while our merchant was there: he had a great retinue of above two hundred; but sold them all one after another, and his secretary last; after which, his embassy was at an end, and he returned home. The grand vizier, with whom ambassadors ordinarily treat, carries himself very stately with them, and will not bear an affront to himself, or government; and however he provokes, it is not safe to make a return, or any invidious comparisons; so careful a thing is it to comport in his presence.

The adventures of John the Quaker.

When our merchant went first up to Constantinople, the Lord Winchelsea was our ambassador there. He was a jolly lord, and extremely favoured by the good Vizier Cuperli, who advised him often to live after his way; that is, as a man of pleasure, merrily; and not trouble himself with business, which, upon application by his dragomen, should be done to his hand; and having a goodly

person and mustachios, with a world of talk, and and that all (as his way was) of mighty wonders, the vizier delighted in his company. In this time, one John, a quaker, went on a sort of pilgrimage to Constantinople, for converting the Great Turk; and the first scene of his action was standing up in a corner of a street, and preaching to the people. They stared at him, and concluding him out of his wits, he was taken and carried to the mad-house; there he lay six months. At last, some of the keepers heard him speak the word English, and told it so as it came to the ambassador's ear, that he had a subject in the mad-house; his lordship sent and had him to his house. The fellow stood before the ambassador with a ragged dirty hat on, and would not put it off, though he was so charged, and admonished; thereupon the ambassador ordered him down, and had him drubbed upon the feet, after the Turkish manner; then he was any thing, and would do any thing; and afterwards did own that that drubbing had a great effect upon his spirit. Upon searching him, there was found in his pouch, among a few beans, a letter to the grand signor, very long, and canting; but the substance was, to let him know, that he was the scourge in God's hand, with which he chastised the wicked Christians; and now their wickedness was so great, that God by the Spirit had sent

him, to let him know, that he must come forthwith to scourge them. He was sent for England, but got off by the way, and came up a second time to Constantinople; from whence he was more surely conveyed; and some, that knew John, told Sir Dudley North they had seen him on the Exchange, where he recognized the admirable virtue of Turkish drubbing.

His height in Turkey.

Having attended our merchant from his cradle, through all his voyages and adventures, to the height of his prosperity in Turkey, which I plant upon his conduct of this great affair of the audience; I now find myself in as much haste to bring him back to a better settlement in England, as he was desirous to compass that agreeable remove. But in regard that, after his return to Constantinople, he spent divers years in order to bring it about; in which time he very much increased his fortunes; and divers incidents, of no small consequence, happened to him; and his conversation here hath furnished us with many remarks, and some pleasantries, about his affairs, and about the temper of the Turkish nation, I have thought fit, before I bring him home, to insert here what remains to be related of Turkish matters.

Chiefly concerned at the audience.

It was not without a native sagacity, adapted to the occasion, and also a long series of attention to the way of dealing, language, and conversation

with the Turks, and others upon the place, that he acquired those great abilities he had in managing whatever he undertook; and particularly this expedition; which, considering the Italic caution of the ambassador, and selfishness of the knight, lay almost wholly upon his shoulders: and more especially the gaining the point of the hattesherif, which was of more moment than all the rest, or than the ambassador foresaw. And it appears how he managed and drove on the dragomen; and, disapproving some of the ambassador's purposes, diverted them: all the while behaving himself with entire submission to his lordship; and neither in the action, nor in the relation (such was the decorum of his modesty) appropriates any value to himself.

The viziers changed for the worse.

In this time the case had been furiously changed upon the merchants, from mild and just viziers, as were the two Cuperlis, father and son, to the most ravenous and unjust government of Cara Mustapha. By this, the merchants were tied up to their affairs, and had not liberty to expatiate in frolics and adventures, as they had done formerly. They needed not to give handles against themselves, the vizier was ready enough to take them; and for fail (rather than not eat their money) make them. I have heard the merchant say, that the Turks do not bear that which we call curiosity; and are apt to beat a man that

pretends to it. They look upon those idlenesses and impertinencies (as at best they account them) with a sinister eye; and always suspect mischief at the bottom, though they do not discern it. But when the vizier showed no inclination to oppress the Christians, they, depending on his good humour, launched farther in curiosity; as will appear by what follows.

Made a topography of the city of Constantinople.

Our merchant had then residing with him a virtuoso, who was a good mathematician and draughtsman; and they together concerted a design of making an exact plan of the city of Constantinople, and carried it on till it came very near being completed. They took the liberty of measuring in the street a distance between two stations, which were two of their mosque towers, from which their priests cry to prayers; and, with a theodolite, they took certain angles at the corners of streets. And, in order to find the position and distances of all the towers and remarkable places, they went up the two towers which they had chose, and made their stations; and there, with the same instrument, marked the angles of each view by the bearings of every one of those places, and set off the same, upon a large paper, by lines; and then the proper intersections gave the true position of them all, in just proportion, according as the practice of such method is commonly directed. And then they fell to map-

ping the streets, partly, by the guidance of those views, and, partly, by other observations. But this work lying a little neglected, it hath so happened, that as well the proof papers, as the map itself, were all taken away; and the merchant hath much lamented the loss, but never could recover them. And I have heard since, that the chief of them are in England, and kept as great curiosities by Dr. C——l, master of C——t's coll. in Cambridge. Perhaps, since the first taking of Constantinople by the Turks, to this very day, there hath not been a conjuncture in which unbelievers, or Gowers (as they call them), might publicly execute such a design as this was; especially trenching upon the holy places, the mosque towers, which, to the Turks, is an abomination; and, perhaps, until they are driven out (which God send) there will not be such another.

Of covering with lead.

Our merchant was a builder himself; and no foreigner ever looked more strictly into the manner of the Turkish buildings than he had done. But he could not give Sir Christopher Wren satisfaction about covering their vaults with lead. For, when he had the covering of the great dome of St. Paul's in deliberation, he was pleased to inquire of that matter. The merchant informed him so far, as to assure him, the Turks never laid lead upon wood, but upon loam, or mere clay only: but how they fastened it he could not tell.

Sir Christopher was not satisfied, that the lead would hang upon loam, and not slip, without some fastening; wherein lay the whole difficulty: for if it was done with iron nails, or spikes, the iron would rust, and lose its hold. It is not impossible but lead, dressed home upon loam, may hang by a sort of union, as the weight and friction together might make. But, as I said, the architect would scarce venture what was not absolutely secure, in a place so exposed; and caused the shell to be boarded, and plates of lead to be let in and nailed to the board, and the sheets to be a little opened, and then soldered to those plates; and so it hangs. Our merchant told us, that the ordinary covering of porticoes were half sweep vaults, which stood like mole-hills in a row; and that all public buildings whatever were covered with vaults, and leaded upon loam. And that lead lasted two thousand years; when upon wood it would be corrupted into white lead in half the time. It is hard to say, why our plumbers should not, for so great an advantage, make the experiment of house-lead upon loam. The merchant told us, that the very metal of lead, that had hung so anciently upon loam, was worth much more money than new lead. So much was it purified by the weather, and no white lead ever found under it; as upon oak, which eats the

sheets of lead to paper in a few years; and what remains of the metal is not so much improved.

Houses built with wood.

The merchant told us, that the common housing of the Turks in Constantinople was of timber, which is brought down from the Black Sea, and comes from Georgia, Mingrelia, &c. in vast floats. Upon which floats the men travel, and, to help forward, put up a little mast and sail; and that the float might keep itself in due poise, and not sink in one place more than another, they take goat-skins (tight as for wine) which must not exhale; and these, blown full and ligatured, are put under the corners that appear most to sink; and so, by making it more buoyant there, keep the float always level. The builders buy these trees for their scantlings, and never split a tree for house-work; every piece, put in, being a whole tree, and those only adzed, so as to lie close, and then made fast, not with pins of wood, or by mortising by tenons, but with iron spikes only. And this makes fires, to which this wooden city is very obnoxious, spread exceedingly; for these houses cannot fall till the material is consumed to ashes; but hang together like bird-cages. The force of men, with hooks and crows, cannot readily bring them under. At fires (by the way) men are not permitted to help even at their own houses; but all the people (that crowd about so

much with us for mischief rather than for help) are driven off; and officers and janizaries take possession of the street, of which they close and secure both ends. This sort of building retrenches the number of tools; and a carpenter useth none but what sticks in his girdle, an adze with a hammer on the reverse, a saw, and a level. The saw works by drawing to, and not by thrusting from; and so the teeth are filed contrary to ours. The level performs all ordinary distances at one operation; it is only a triangle, with two hooks and a plummet, applied to the middle of a cord strained from one place to another.

Brick houses and villages.

There are also houses built with brick laid in loam; but they are mostly sun-dried. They become hard as stones; but, if wet comes upon them, they decay very fast. Kiln, or fire-dried, brick, laid in lime, make a sure wall, and are used in the best houses and vaults. But the Turks are so far from affecting fine houses, that they strive to make them look humble and poor; which is to avoid envy, and the injuries that ordinarily, in these places, attend it. If a man should build a fine house of strong material, others will say, "What! do you intend to live for ever?" If it be pompous, it will be concluded they have cheated the government, though with less reason perhaps than if the like were inferred in England, Spain, or France. But, within doors,

a wealthy man ventures to adorn richly, as their ceilings, &c. with a variegated colouring, not imagery, but wild, as Turkey carpets. There is scarce in any of the great cities such a thing as an antique fabric for private use; but their houses are always decaying and rebuilding. And, in the villages, it is worse; for they contrive all they can not to be seen at all, that travellers may not come down upon them from the hills; as, if they see a town, they will do in great parties, and spoil their goods; and, for that reason, they make their doors just big enough for a man to creep in at, lest travellers make stables of them. So that the face of the empire, as to the habitations of the common people, is very wretched; there being nothing of that kind standing but mosques and *canes* (or inns), works of religion and charity. But the ruins of very ancient structures are observable every where; as pieces of old walls, and arches, which may have lain open to the sun and weather above fifteen hundred years; and the brick and mortar as hard as stone itself.

A convent of friars, discovered a secret, and were excluded.

Over-against our merchant's house in Pera, opposite to Constantinople, there was a small convent of (literally) mendicant friars. They were reduced to three only that lived there; and despicable fellows they were. They lived in a perpetual contention; and, for the most part, concluded the work of the day in fighting. The main stress

lay between two that were strong and lusty. The third was a poor old man, that got him to bed before the last act; and so he escaped the scowering. The others were asked how he came to retire in good time, and not they. The answer was, "That he was a very old man, and, with his pittance of wine, got drunk sooner than they could do, and so must needs go to his cell to sleep." The merchants of this factory used to be very kind (charitable it was called) to this convent; and the friars were often admitted into the house, and to eat and drink there, and to carry pots of wine and meat home with them, and now and then a little money. But it happened in our merchant's time, that one of these friars, being in the house, overheard a discourse, concerning the French ambassador, which had like to have made a great splutter; and it was found out that the discovery was made by this friar. From that time they were shut out from all entrance there.

Urged to be restored, but refused.

The friars were exceedingly troubled for this loss, and used all the means they could to retrieve it, by getting a pardon, and re-admission; but in vain. Once one of them ventured to the door of the counting-house, and there stood while the merchants were writing, and begged a pot of wine. No, nothing; he must be gone. At last he condescended to accept of a poor asper. Our

merchant's brother asked, if it were not better for an asper to get rid of him. "No," said our merchant, "here is a trial of skill, whether this fellow or I have most impudence. If he gets the better, I am his slave. If it once comes to that, I should be sorry any man living should outbrazen me, or that his impudence should command my easiness." After this, they were never troubled with any of them about the house any more, but what broken meat they had was sent over to them. It was our merchant's constant way, as unreasonable people grew impudent, to grow more positive, and, upon that foot, soon rout them. But, to civil people, none more humane, obliging, and good-natured than he was, and very loth to refuse any gratification he could afford to others, until provoked by being urged in an imperative way; and then the refusal came powdering from him by wholesale.

His good-nature to the young factors.

I have many instances of his good-nature. One, and not the least, was this. When he resided at Constantinople, and was the principal merchant, and treasurer there, he had always a tender respect for the youth of the factory newly sent out, and unexperienced in the dealing of that city: which was a practice altogether different from the practice of the elder merchants; for they too often banter young men, tie up their heads, as they call it, and make advantage to

themselves by their want of skill and dexterity in business, and then make sport with them. He knew these ways: and as he always escaped the ill influence of them when he was young; so, in his advanced post, he was so far from imposing upon the young men, that he encouraged, instructed, advised, and, in their business, assisted them. He considered human frailties, and more especially the inability of youth to stand among sharpers; and that they were trusted by others, and therefore it was but common justice to assist them: and the rather, because of the consequence, which might be fatal to them; for if the principals found their factors incompetent, they were for ever ruined. And sometimes other merchants have expostulated with him, saying, "Why will you do this? Do you not see that you act against your own and our interest? If they are made to hold off selling, shall not we sell the better?" His answer was, "Pugh! what need you concern yourself? There is enough for them and us too, if we mind our business;" or to that effect, and no more.

His brother fell ill of the plague, and recovered.

There was another instance, wherein he showed a world of tenderness and good-nature. His brother, that came over to him from Aleppo, and was settled in the house, fell ill of the plague. I saw letters from him, that gave the first account of it; and I do not know that I ever heard or read more sensible expressions of grief than he used. It

troubled him to the heart, that he should be a means of bringing him to that city, and thereby be, though innocently, a cause of his death. He did not pass his time idly, but (griefs apart) laid about him to provide all possible means that could be contrived, had, or procured for his preservation. He put him into a good place, and had four plague-nurses (for divers in that city are so professed) the most skilful of the Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, to attend him. He lay four days, in the rage of the fever, without any crisis or sensible sleep, and without any physic, or any thing else, coming between his lips, except lemons; and of those they gave him one after another continually, so that he might never be without one in his hand to suck. It seems that acid is a specific against the venom of the plague; for, by the price of lemons in that city, they can tell if the plague rages or not: for, if they are cheap, the city is less visited; and, if dear, the disease is more frequent. And, as these nurses affirmed, which I am apt to think is true, if he had taken any cordials or julaps whatsoever, other than these lemons, he had died.

Occurrences after this sickness.

During the uncertain state of his brother's dangerous sickness, the merchant, walking out to divert his melancholy, saw a fellow making a grave, and went towards him to observe his working. He had not looked upon him long before the fellow turned, and, looking up at him, asked how

the hasnadar's, or treasurer's brother did; on whose account, it seems, he hoped to have another like employ. One may imagine, what an offensive shock this was to the merchant, and how it dashed all the spirits he had within him. It sent him home with a resolution to come no more near such ominous fellows. But it pleased God that his brother recovered, and, surviving him, had the happiness of an opportunity to make a grateful return for all these cares of him, as, after his death, he performed by his perpetual superintendence of his family and remains in England. It is not unfit to remember here, that this Mr. Mountagu North, having recovered of the plague, for want of advice, or care to physic himself stoutly after it, was not clear of the venom, but lived in a very ill state of health some years after. Perhaps, if his sore, that appeared in his arm, had broke, and so discharged the malignant humour, he had been better. But that had been another risk for his life; for they say there are two fatal crises, one of the disease, and another of the sore: for, if that breaks, there is imminent danger the part should gangrene, and never heal. But it happened that, at Smyrna, this gentleman, in his return for England, was almost laid up of a languid indisposition. But at length, in the place where the sore had been, which had dispersed, there arose a sort of push, like what boys sometimes have. It had a

black head, and was so angry, that looking upon it, almost hurt it. This proceeded till it broke, and a black core came out, as big as a small nutmeg; and then it healed. It is certain, that these secret operations of nature, striving against all its enemies, are little less than miracles; and the most learned can give a satisfactory reason for the latter, in any of the celebrated instances, as easily as for the former.

Of the Jews at Constantinople, and their ways of proceeding.

Our merchant hath often discoursed of the Jews at Constantinople, what a convenience they were to them in the transaction of their business, and also of the wonderful condition of their living there, with other concerns of that obstinate people. They are very numerous, and very poor. Some there may be accounted rich, if the very hard taxes, imposed and paid for maintaining the poor, did not almost reduce them to the same pass. For at least one-tenth of their income goes of course that way; and moreover their beggarly Jews extort from them great sums, which they demand as charity, saying, "You are bound to relieve the poor. I am poor; give me my relief." It is a proverb, that Jews beg *con baston in mano*, that is, with a stick in their hand: and in good earnest the rich men are forced to comply, and part with a great deal upon such kind of compulsion. The Jewish people there have an economy, and order of their members, by governing (as they pretend)

according to the Mosaic law. And they are allowed by the Turkish indulgence so to do in all points, but that of death, the power of which they allow to no foreign nation; but, in cases of death, they must be judged by the Turkish, and not by the Jewish, or any other law in the world. This puts the Jews to a great stress, when offences, by the law of Moses, require death, and the Turkish law will not (for that reason) adjudge them. And it hath been known that, to expedite their execution with safety, they have sent into the Turkish court two false witnesses of their own tribe (which will pass against Jews) who have falsely sworn upon the offender a crime of death by the Turkish law, and had sentence accordingly; pursuant to which, their unlucky brother was cut off. To show what reason the Christians have to trust these Jews, I may add that, by their common principle, lying and perjury, against all that are not Jews, are, not only lawful, but commendable. And to lose any thing from their public, for either truth or justice, is a very great fault. This makes all dealing with them very nice and cautelous; for all trust, even with the best of them, is desperate; and the common sort, who are miscreantly poor, are the most faithless wretches upon earth; and withal most abject and impudent in the turn of a hair.

I have heard our merchant say, that he found

it impossible to tell to any of them a sum of money out of a bag, and they not finger some of it, and so bring it to fall short; and that traps have been laid, by attestation prepared, to make the discovery; and one of their house hath turned a bag out to them with charge to mind only the fellow's fingers, and could not discern the least action towards a legerdemain; and yet the money hath been short. Now, would not one wonder, that a society should, not only deal with, but take into a sort of employ, and it may be, in some respect, trust these men, and use them as necessary to their trade, which Turks, Christians, and (in particular) the English do, and could not well do otherwise, or carry on business without them!

Their disposition to fraud.

When a fresh merchant, or factor, comes to Constantinople, the first Jew, that catches a word with him, marks him for his own, as becoming his peculiar property, and calls him his merchant; and so he must be as long as he stays. And, from this time, no other Jew will interpose to deprive him of his purchase, but as soon rob a house as do it. And thus, by compact or custom among themselves, this sacred rule of right is established. On the other side, the merchant can no more shake off his Jew than his skin. He sticks like a bur, and, whether well used or ill used, will be at every turn in with him; and no remedy. Somewhat the rogue will get out of

Jews impose themselves as brokers.

him in spite of his teeth, and commonly (besides pay) just so much more as he is trusted with. And the merchant cannot be without a Jew, nor change that he hath. The only expedient is to make the best of him, and never trust him upon honour. It is not a little convenience that is had by these appropriated Jews; for they serve in the quality of universal brokers, as well for small as great things. Their trade is running up and down, and through the city, like so many of Job's devils, perpetually busking after one thing or other, according as they are employed. If the merchant wants any thing, be it never so inconsiderable, let him tell his Jew of it, and, if it be above ground, he will find it. This is accounted a common advantage; for there are multitudes of people, that have need of each other, and want means to come together; which office the Jews perform admirably. And in like manner they apply to the great men at court, calling themselves his merchant at whose house, or gate, they wait expecting employment. For, when any thing is wanted, the Jew is spoke to, and he, with wonderful despatch, procures it: and they have great profit by these trusts, which they account as the vails of their places.

An escape from a superstitious rabble.

The Turks are the most superstitious of all people, and have an opinion of fascination by ill eyes; and the merchant had once like to have

suffered on that account: for, being at the sports, mentioned in his letter to the Italian, he observed a rope-dancer come down from a tower, and thought, by his minute watch, to know in how many seconds he passed to his place; and, as he stood counting three, four, five, &c. the rope broke. This disappointment troubled the Turks, that stood thick, gaping up; and, some wondering how such an accident should happen, one said he believed that fellow was the cause of it; for he saw him hold somewhat in his hand, and mutter over it. The merchant, hearing this, crept away as fast as he could; for, if the mob had fallen upon him for an enchanter, he had passed his time but very indifferently amongst them.

Angels govern the plague.

It was one of his observations, that Turks, Jews, and Christians have the same vulgar superstitions; as about fairies, goblins, &c. As for the plague, they verily believe that destroying angels are sent forth, and go about with banners; one hath a red one, and the other a white one; and, as these angels strike the people, they fall down, and either die or recover. And, in time of raging pestilence, there are men who will affirm, they actually saw these angels; and as true as the Romans of old attested that they saw their emperors rise out of the fire, which was called the apotheosis; after which, they were enrolled among their gods. And now, among the modern Romans,

their canonization of saints, whereby they become adorable intercessors, is a fraud nearly of the same species.

Their faith in *reading over.*

But all these different professors of religion have a firm faith in what they call *reading over;* and they use it promiscuously. For, if a common Turk hath a horse sick, he will have the Alcoran read over it, and, rather than fail, the Law of Moses, or, the Gospel of Christ. And there are poor Christians that will get a holy man, though a Turk, to read over a sick child; and the poor Jews the like. It is the *reading over* that they value, together with the venerable phiz of the holy man that performs, without much distinction what it is he reads. Once the lord ambassador went to an audience of the vizier, with the nation attending; and he, being no horseman, used to be carried in a chair. That appeared to the Turks as a vile effeminacy, and they detested it as unbecoming a man, who ought to govern himself upon his horse, and not to be carried like a child in a cradle. As they went, an old Turkish woman, thinking the man in the chair was sick, asked our merchant whither they were carrying that poor sick man; and he, turning to her, answered, "To be read over;" "God bless you," said she, "you are good men, and that is a very good thing:" and so they went on. When this

was told among the merchants, it was a very good jest to every one; but the ambassador himself could not easily digest it.

Of a life in the grave.

The Turks have an opinion, that men, that are buried, have a sort of life in their graves. If any man makes affidavit before a judge, that he heard a noise in a man's grave, he is, by order, dug up, and chopped all to pieces. The merchants, once airing on horseback, had (as usual for protection) a janizary with them. Passing by the burying-place of the Jews, it happened that an old Jew sat by a sepulchre. The janizary rode up to him, and rated him for stinking the world a second time, and commanded him to get into his grave again.

Danger of talk before Turks, and some fondnesses of theirs.

Our merchant was always shy of disputing with the Turks; for, if they but catch, coming out of a Gower's mouth, certain words, as for instance, "God is one God, and Mahomet is his prophet," on what account soever it is, be it only historical, in jest, or in earnest, they will compel him to be a circumcised Turk, or kill him. But the poor old man, the effendi, that wrote for them, was forced to bear their attacks; for he was good-conditioned, and would bear any importunity from them that paid him well. A true Turk, but ignorant; and, at worst, he was but one witness, and could not accuse. Their chief opposition to him lay in asking him hard questions, to be resolved by the tenets

of his religion; and then the simplicity of his answers was subject of merriment to them. As for instance, "how the devils engendered, since it did not appear that there was any distinction of sexes amongst them?" The old man did, out of good authority, allow that they encreased, but could give them no better account, than that "they made use of their own tails *in culo*, and so begat devils upon themselves."

Manner of shifting in discourse of religion with the Turks.

It is a common practice in all places, where men of different persuasions in religion dwell and converse together, for the prevailing persuasion to use all the means they can, either by courtships, or by threats, to tempt others over to their party. And the Turks are as busy at that sport as any people can be; but it is by way of persuasion and encouragement, rather than by constraint. But the Roman Catholic powers do it by punishment, and very little (where they have authority) by persuasion. The Turks proffer liberty to all religions that keep within bounds; but will endure no insult upon their own. The Papists, by principle, tolerate none, and also guard their own by suppressing controversy, and miserably tormenting those that dissent or differ from them. The Turks give all the kindest invitations, that can be, to Christians to renegue, and become Turks: but, when that is done, they have no manner of value for them; for they suppose it

done, not out of sincerity, but perfidiousness; yet, in regard their posterity will be true Turks, they think their tempting politics worth the while to practise. Our merchant often told us how he had been most importunely pressed, by men in power, to become Turk; and, knowing the danger of such conversation, he used never to enter into any comparisons, or arguments, whatever. But yet, considering that he was obliged by the company of such men of account as ate and drank with him, and that it would be taken as ill manners and morosity to say nothing at all; he used to say, that "his father wore a hat, and left the hat to him, and he wears it because his father left it, and (clapping his hand on his head) declared he would wear it as long as he lived;" and others, of a meaner sort, he hath put off, by saying, that "he was bred to drink wine, and eat hog, and intended to do so still." And, when he spoke of returning into his own country, scarce any Turk, that knew him, believed that he ever intended it; for, as they thought, one, who so well understood the felicity and glory of that country, could never leave it. And some, in the form of friendship, have said, "Why, Gower, are you mad? Can you be so senseless as to leave this place?" And the like; which he put off in like manner as before; and saying that "he would die and be buried with his forefathers."

An affront to some dervises dangerously given.

The holy men, called dervises, that, in Turkey, profess mortification, choose to ride upon asses, horses being a noble animal for worldly potentates to ride on; and they cannot bear to see Gowers so mounted, but will come and pull them off their horses, if they can. Once, at Smyrna, the nation were abroad on horseback, well mounted, and spied a parcel of dervises, coming in the road, mounted, as their way was, upon asses. The merchants expected to be affronted by them; and, says one, "Let us ride through them:" and all, with one consent, set spurs, and rode over this troop of holy men and asses, beating them down here and there, as they happened to scatter. When they were got up, the enemy was flown; and they went away, and made no complaints: and, it is likely, they did not know who those Gowers were; else, it might have made an avania.

In Asia the speech is figurate.

The Turks retain the old Asiatic way of expressing themselves by figures, and have divers moral parables amongst them. That such was anciently the mode of expression in that part of the world, we have Æsop to show; many of whose fables have been translated out of, or into, Arab. And the ancient prophecies, as well as the style of the holy scriptures, demonstrate the same. So little reason had the church of Rome to construe literally that passage, "This is my body." As for the common Turks, it will be enough to give

an instance or two, communicated occasionally in discourse by our merchant: and, to say truth, he himself conversed so much with the people there, of all degrees, that his style and manner of expression was tinctured accordingly. They use the words, "wrote on his forehead," for all necessities that happen to a man, which we call fate. It is commonly known that the Turks are fatalists.

A Turk convinced against fatalism.

Our merchant was acquainted with a grave honest Turk, who lived in a house with one slave; and, when his slave died, he bought another; and, in a time of plague, he lost four or five; which brought him very low. And no wonder; for he always laid his fresh slave in that very place where the former died, without any dressing or preparation at all. The merchant often advised him to dress his lodging with vinegar and fire, as the use is, before he put another there. "Oh no," said he, "that signifies nothing; it is wrote on his forehead." At last he advised him to take three lemons, two sound and one rotten one, and lay them so as one of the sound ones should touch the rotten one, and the other not, and see which lemon rotted first. He did so, and was convinced by the effect; after which, he dressed his room, and his next slave lived.

"The world is a tail," a proverb.

There is a proverb, "The world is a tail, and happy is he that gets hold on 't;" which alludes

to some shipwreck at passing a river, where the hold of an horse's tail certainly saves a man. They tell, that a wise old man begged a boon of a grand signor; and he bade him be gone, "The world was a tail," &c. He thought the experiment was to be tried, and ordered his slave to sell him in the market for a Russ slave; but to one that looked grave and wise, with a long beard, and a bosom full of papers. This was done, and he was sent down to a vineyard to work with other Russes there: and so he did for divers months. At last, from speaking Russian, he fell to speak Turkish, and repeat the Alcoran, and declared that Mahomet appeared to him, and enabled him. The master, being informed of this miracle, sent for him, and found it was so, and that he read the Alcoran well. He had immediately his liberty, and was visited and courted by presents from divers people. At last the grand signor heard of it, and would needs see him; and, when he was brought, "How?" said the grand signor, "do not I know you?" "Sir," said the Turk, "for God's sake let me alone; I have got hold of the tail."

The unequal condition of slaves.

Mentioning slaves, puts me in mind of a mortifying reflection our merchant used to make of the unaccountable difference that happens in the (at best) miserable state of those that fall under the calamity to be bought and sold as such. Some shall come from the same country, taken at the

same time, and be bought by a cruel fellow, that will send him to the mines, there to be flea'd with hard labour, and so to live and die in torment. Another shall be sold to a good-natured man, that shall make but an ordinary domestic of him; and, behaving himself well, he shall be used as a child, and, at length, married to his patron's daughter. And all this immane difference without any sensible merit or demerit in either, and void of all possibility, by any foresight, prudence, or behaviour, to prevent, alleviate, or determine. But, in the city, as our merchant hath told us, a slave hath some degree of justice against the ill usage of a patron; for he may allege contrariety of tempers, whereby they cannot well live together; and the judge will decree, that the patron shall carry his slave to market, and sell him. But it must be a bad master indeed that will cause a slave to affect a change which is very probable to be worse for him. The wealthy men, in the Turkish dominions, have a great accommodation by slaves bought at market, as we do cattle: for, if a man wants a slave of any pretension, as strength to labour, comeliness for a waiter, smith, weaver, or other faculty (to say nothing of a concubine, or so) he finds one out, and buys him; and, if he be not useful, as expected, his patron carries him out, and sells him, and tries for another. And it is seldom or ever that these prove refractory, or impertinent;

for the correction falls so sharp and thick upon them, that they cannot mistake their interest. Our merchant was served in his house only by slaves, and all the cookery was done by such; which shows a strange trust, on that side of the globe, beyond what is in India, where, if the slaves, being natives, were cooks, they would certainly poison the whole family. He brought a slave home with him, at his return into England, whom he called *Shatein*, which signifies *hawk*, because the fellow had a quick eye, like a hawk; but his nature did not belie his country, which was Georgia. This slave he gave to his mother, and she used him as a servant. He was a Christian, but knew it by nothing but a few fasts that he kept. He was superstitious as well as amorous; for a maid-servant, provoked by his leering at her, laid a fresh rabbit-skin cross his face; which was such a pollution, that he ran straight to the pump, and they thought that he would never have done washing. He found such liberty in the family, that he thought he might fairly run home to his own country; and, accordingly, took to his heels; and being found in a wood, half-starved, and able to say nothing intelligible, but "North great merchant," he was brought home to the lady's house. But his patron, perceiving that he was of no use here, sent him a little nearer home, where he might be kept or sold, as the factory thought fit. He

had another slave, that was a Polacco, whom he caused also to be brought into England, and then sent to Poland, with his liberty, and about eighty pounds he had got in the service. This was to reward his incomparable diligence and fidelity while he served. The merchant once lost a jewel of value, and could not find by what means. He suspected this fellow, and to the last, in his private sentiment, believed he stole it; but having no evidence to justify the accusing of him, and it being possible that some other person stole it, he was so just as to let his private suspicion go for nothing. Thus much concerning slaves in Turkey, I thought fit to insert all together in this place.

Parable, to show the tyrannous disposition of the Turks.

I proceed to mention another parable, and so conclude these observations. A grand signor caused his vizier's arm to be cut off, and proclaimed that the arm should be thrown up, and whoever caught it falling, should succeed in the vizier's place; but upon terms to be served the same sauce at a year's end. When the crowd was come together to catch this arm, one man, more diligent and dexterous than the rest, caught it. So he was vizier; and, at the year's end, his right arm was cut off, and thrown up as before, and he himself, with his left arm, caught it again; and after his second year, his left arm was cut off and thrown up, and he caught it with his mouth. This is to show what men will suffer to gain a

pre-eminence over others. The Turks live under arbitrary government; but then most of them, though subject to some, are superior to others; and have such an itch after tyrannizing, that none would accept of liberty and security by laws, upon terms to quit his power of tyrannizing over others, in his turn at least, as it may happen. And to say truth, few people, among us, clamour against arbitrary government with any other view than, by that means, to gain power, which they may exercise arbitrarily over others. And our merchant, returning into England, fell into the heat of this rage, which flamed round, but did not hurt him, as will be displayed in the sequel.

Story of a vizier, that repulsed a dissatisfied suitor.

He told us a passage which, in Turkey, was related, not as an apologue, but as true. A clamorous Turk had a stale pretence against a man, which he had prosecuted without effect. Upon the advancement of Cuperli the good vizier, he applied to him, alleging that he had sought for justice before divers viziers, one after another, and had been denied; but now his viziership was in that place, "He did not doubt but he should obtain justice from so great and good a man as he was." The vizier rising up, "You dog," said he, "do you think I come to mend the world? Was it not a cuckoldly world from the beginning; and shall it not be so still? You say that so many viziers did you wrong; and do you

expect that I should do you right? *chick*." This story, setting aside the Turkish huff, has a good moral, which is that, when causes have had the ill luck to miscarry divers times, it is better to let them drop wholly, than to revive stale pretences, only because a little better title is showed; for *ut sit finis litium*, or, "that there may be an end of quarrelling," hath more of justice, than that old law-sentence, that "right never dies." For, if that were true, one might safely say, no man living hath a title to his estate.

A device for lifting water.

Our merchant, that always courted mechanic arts, seldom overlooked any that were put in practice where he resided; especially if aught appeared ingenious, or out of the common way, in them. Some particulars I remember he hath spoke of; and one was a device for turning up water, wherein a man useth the strength of his whole body, hands and feet alternately; whereas, by the common use of a winch and crank, a man applies only his arms, and those not with equal advantage of force in all the whole turn. In this device, upon the axis of the roller, there are four bars so adjusted, that a man sitting on his rump, and applying hands and feet alternately, the hands, one after another, drawing, and the feet, one after another, crowding, the bars succeed in convenient reach, and, being forced, fall into place for the foot to take that which the nearest hand

lets go; and so, one hand and one foot straining together and taking turns, great weights may be easily raised, and, at least, one man do the work of two.

The use of *jezzo* in shell-work.

He hath often spoke of the admirable use they make of what they call *jezzo;* which is a fluid mortar, such as we make with burnt alabaster. They make projectile shells of brick, which hang to a wall over the fire-hearth. And it is done only by fixing the bricks edgewise first to the wall, and then edge to edge; and the cementing is done by wetting a little of the powder in water, with which they dab each brick; and so, hand-holding them a little together, they are fast; for the jezzo sets, as they call it, immediately. By this means they make the shell overhang into the room above a yard; and it has no other support than the strength of the jezzo, and the plastering over it.

Framing-glass for windows in jezzo.

They frame all their glass in jezzo; and the way is to use clay upon a board, in rolls laid about, to answer the pieces of glass, however figured: and, as the shapes are made, the glass is so laid, that the edges overhang the clay, and yet do not touch any other glass. Then the like rolls of clay are laid upon the glass just over the other; in which manner there is made a channel that takes hold of the rim of every piece of glass; for the edges of all the glass fall in that channel.

Then another board is brought over, and pressed upon the whole; and so the channels are perfectly closed. This done, the jezzo is poured in at the top, and runs round about, and all over, in those channels, and the liquor, embracing every piece of glass, is every where continued. This stands full till it is dry, and (as it becomes hard as a stone) they part the boards, and take away the clay; and the glass is held fast by a frame of jezzo, and is stronger than one would imagine it to be. But one thing is to be remembered, which is, that the glass is not placed near the line of the wall without, but within the house; whereby it is not so much exposed to weather as ours is; for probably, if it were more exposed, this jezzo frame would decay.

The divers, a trade, and their justice.

In Turkey, diving is a trade, and, as it were, incorporated, and, as other trades, hath its master who judgeth the divers according to certain regulations. And here I may observe a conformity of authority that will take place in all regions and countries. With us it is a mixture, as king and parliament; so lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens; master and wardens; governor and directors of companies. There it is the grand signor alone, his substitute the vizier, the bashas, cadis, governors of trades, caravan bashas, &c. which have no adjunct to the single governor. So he of the divers is a governor of the whole faculty: and

better justice is to be had, before him, against any of the trade, than is to be expected here from a confederacy, as will appear by a short story, which concludes this paragraph. But these divers will do wonders. All the brick, made for the use of building, is taken by divers from the bottom of the sea, and being put in baskets, they rise with them upon their heads, and throw the clay into a lighter, and go down for more; and so they work all the day long. These are the men that take up coral, sponge, and shell-fish from the rocks; and it is said their education is so strict, that a diver cannot marry till he can stay a certain time under water. As to the justice of their governor, our merchant told us, that once a man, coming over from Pera, near the key at Constantinople, dropped a purse of money, which is about one hundred pounds. Thereupon they sent for a diver, and he went down, and busked about a long time, and then came up and said there was no such thing. They were so sure of the place where the money was dropped, that they believed they had got a rogue of a diver, and immediately sent for the master, or governor, of the divers. He came with a retinue of divers, and sat him down upon the key, and heard testimony in form, as if he had been a judge. Then he commands two of his choice attendants to go down and bring up the money. They went, and found that the other

fellow had taken it from its place, and hid it behind a timber that belonged to the key. The master took his *premio*, gave the merchant his money, and, for justice and example, laid down the roguish diver, and had him drubbed before their faces; and so he went away in the same state as he came.

The merchant used to speak of the extravagant manufacture of tobacco pipes. They consist of hollowed wood, in lengths, neatly turned, and let into one another, and, withal, curiously painted over, and set off with rings of divers colours. And all this is done in the street by a fellow, that buckles his limbs in such a particular manner, that he makes a turning-lathe of himself. But in a word; he contrives, with his feet, knees, &c. to hold his material so firm, and commodious for his purpose, as is wonderful to observe. A man may bespeak a pipe, and see it made before his face; and thereby have a better entertainment than smoke and stink for his money. The making of tobacco-pipes.

They have a clever way to catch sea-fish. Four posts are set square, and made fast in the sea; and a square net is let down by pullies from the heads of these posts; so that, by drawing one cord, all the four corners shall rise together. This not lying close to the bottom of the sea, the fish are not afraid of it; but swim over in large shoals; and the man upon the seat may easily discern Fishing in the Hellespont.

them. Then, as he gives the signal, those in the boat hale as quick as they can; and so all the bolt ropes of the net rise above the water, and all the fish are safe in the hollow of the net. Then the boat comes, and, clawing by the net, they draw the boat about, and take in all the fish. I might, to these, add more of the like nature; but I fear too many would be fastidious.

Difficult to know Turkey well.

As to the true knowledge of the Turkish government and policy, with the genius, or true reason of their proceedings; or, in a word, the true state of their empire, our merchant used to say, it was very hard to come at it, even by those that lived and dealt amongst them; of whom very few came away with much of it. And, that which he gathered, was owing to the advantages he had by the language; for that gave him an opportunity to converse with all degrees of the inhabitants, and to pick up what they were pleased to drop of their schemes. He had also a large sphere of transaction with the great men of the law and the court, not without uncommon familiarities, and friendships, with divers of them: and, to all this may be added a furious curiosity in himself, not without some penetration, and aptitude, to discern and apply what fell in his way, losing nothing that might be instructive to him. He said the very dragomen, or interpreters they used, were ignorant of it; and he could scarce ever rely upon

their skill; but was forced to use his own wits, and when he had need to be nicely instructed, then, if possible, to get information from some learned Turks. And he said farther, that the book of Sir Paul Rycaut, of the religion and manners of the Turks, was very superficial, and, in multitudes of instances, erroneous. And that once he, with the assistance of some friends, went over that book, and noted in the margin the faults, with their corrections: but the book, with other curiosities of his own gathering and procuring, was purloined from him. He said, the Turks are very shy and incommunicative; and many of them think that Gowers, or unbelievers, are unworthy of the knowledge of their sublime state, and will not be brought to discourse freely of it; as the subjects of most Christian countries are pleased to do, when they gratify strangers that are inquisitive. And one may guess how hard it is for English merchants to know Turkey, if we reflect what strange notions those Asiatics have of the English state, that come and live here, and, according to the measure of their inquisitiveness, may be informed. How can it be otherwise then, as we find, that such strange notions and mistakes of Turkey pass vulgarly amongst us?

A just view of the seraglio taken.

Whether our merchant brought away with him any projection of the inward seraglio or not, his

writings may show. But it is certain that he gained a just profile of the outside of it; being a view of the whole, as it appeared from one of his windows at Pera, over against the Serrail point. It was done with a pen, between him and a virtuoso that lived with him, on like occasion as I mentioned before. It expressed every lodging, pleasure-house, roof, window, garden, tree, and whatsoever of it appeared to their view, in exact proportion. And I have heard him say, that he could make affidavit to the truth of every particular expressed in it; there being nothing added, or omitted, for setting off, or on any other account whatsoever. It was almost entirely finished; only some of the remote parts, and not much, wanted hatching. After he came into England, he had a fancy to have a picture made after this draught; and he instructed a good landscape painter in the colouring, &c. who hath made a very decent piece of it; and that, with the original, is now in the hands of his son. Whether this gentleman was a singular virtuoso, as well as merchant, or not, the rest of his life will make appear.

Moderately vicious abroad; strictly virtuous at home.

I am now drawing up close to another great crisis of this gentleman's life; which is his return for England. And it will be observed, that I have here scarce made a man, but somewhat more, of him; for where are his faults, without which no man lives? I cannot say I have concealed any

that I knew; and having little or no information of him but from himself, I may not find out, what no man is apt to discover of himself, his unjustifiable actions. But if I may be so free, as to give my thoughts of his morals, I must allow that, as to all the mercantile arts, and stratagems of trade, which could be used, to get money from those he dealt with, I believe he was no niggard; but as for falsities, such as cheating by weights or measures, or any thing that was knavish, treacherous, or perfidious, even with Jews or Turks, he was as clear as any man living, but transacted and dealt, in all respects, as a merchant of honour. As to debauchery, I have enough cleared him in what hath been said. But as to women, while he was in Turkey (barring the excess) I mean such looses and escapes, as almost all men, there, are more or less guilty of, I cannot altogether wipe him clean. For I have heard him speak of a lodging he took, in the house of a Greek upon the Hellespont, for *spasso*, as they call their diversions; and, though he did not expressly declare it, I guessed that *spasso* to have been *spassa*, of the feminine gender. But he knew the country so well, as not to be guilty of great excesses in that, or any kind; for they are very dangerous.

Strange education of a child.

He mentioned a spy-hole he had, from his room, into the house of another Greek, who had a female slave that brought a child; and that

little infant was kept without any kind of clothes, or covering, more than is provided for a puppy dog; and it had a kennel under the stairs, and straw to lie upon. When the servant was free, she went and suckled and cleaned it; but what was chiefly remarkable was this. It had a going upon all four, exactly like a monkey, and trotted, and then galloped, or walked; and so it would come up to the table when the master was at dinner, and sit upright, holding up the paws, begging for somewhat to eat; and what was given it, it ate as a dog doth; and sometimes it had a box on the ear, and, as a dog, was bid begone; and then it galloped away to its kennel again. It was a mortifying reflection, to consider how little this animal differed from a common brute. Here is all I can say or think evil of my subject; but, after his departure for England, I have nothing, but what is strictly virtuous, to relate of him. Therefore beforehand I must desire that other may not be expected from me.

Preparation to come away.

Against the time that general ships arrived from England, upon the return of which our merchant intended to embark, he employed his time in preparatories. He was resolved not to leave his affairs behind him in disorder. He considered that, although he left his own brother upon the spot, whose care and application would be no less than his own, yet his experience, and,

it may be, penetration in business, was not equal to his own. Besides, he desired to leave him engaged in as little brigue and trouble as was possible, that he might go on in the management of the factory with courage and satisfaction. And he was so far at ease that, if he left any thing which had been better brought away, it would fall into his hands, whom he loved almost as himself, and withal took care to leave him in full plenty, and well provided of all things fitting for him. He made a new set of books, which contained a transcript of those of the ragion, in which he had any particular concern; and those he balanced to the time of his coming away. He chose, for his ship, that of which Captain Cook was commander, who was a good-conditioned man and agreeable company.

Stopped at Smyrna and Tunis.

The first launch was down to Smyrna, and there he went ashore; how long he stayed, and what merriment was made, is not much material. After leaves taken in due manner and form, they sailed, and touched at Tunis, which is in the bay where old Carthage stood. They went ashore there, and were entertained by the consul resident. The shallowness of the bay of Tunis is very strange; for there was scarce water to keep their boats afloat; and very often, upon touching, the seamen skipped overboard, and heaved the boat off. One would think so large a sea should,

in time, sand or sylth up. The viewing that place, and being informed of the state of the Turkish government, and the powers there, must needs be agreeable to him. It appears he was so full of it, that he thought fit to discharge his memorials upon paper; as I find by the following account of his penning.

VOYAGE FROM SMYRNA, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF TUNIS, CONTAINING MATTERS LITTLE KNOWN IN EUROPE, BY SIR DUDLEY NORTH.

Relation of the voyage, and of those places.

"*Smyrna, March* 27, 1680. We departed from the town by the ship's boats, which had then lain a full week at the castles, where all the day was spent in feasting and taking leave of our friends. Towards night we all set sail; but, the wind being fresh out of the sea, by our short tacks to get out, we made but little or no advantage. So we came to an anchor again at night, and lay all next day, which was Sunday. Our Smyrna friends had left us the day before; so we went and dined aboard the Massingbird, and, after dinner, walked on shore to the hot waters, some two miles, or better, from the castle. It was a pleasant walk, being all even, or else an undiscernible ascent.

"The hot springs are several; over one of which, in past ages, hath been a considerable

building, as may be seen by its ruins; but now there remains one vault, where there is a cistern, into which both hot and cold water runs, to make it fit for people to endure; the which is sometimes used by the people of the adjacent villages. Near this, there runs a considerable brook; in the skirts of which, two springs of hot water rise up near one another; the one too hot to be endured, the other more temperate. They lie so near the brook, within its verge, that, on the least increase of water, they are overflowed.

"Next day betimes, our fleet got under sail, the wind being N.W. so that we turned it out of the Cape; which all did not compass till midnight, when we bore away before it, and had the weather fair and favourable till we came, past Malta, in sight of the island of Pantalaria, where strong west winds came up; against which we lay, with difficulty enough, for a long time, and to our no small vexation, having, for about eight days continually, the island in our sight. This made us reflect on a story that goes of another island hard by, called Lampadoza, which they say is uninhabited, and hath on it only one vaulted building, or church; on one side whereof, there is an altar for the Christians, and, on another place, for the devotions of the Turks; and so it is by all esteemed holy. In this building, they say, are always found most things necessary for seafaring

men; clothes of all sorts, cordage, biscuit, &c. and a treasury of all sorts of money, though in no great quantity. It is lawful for all, that come here, to serve their occasions with what they find and need; but they must be sure to leave in value somewhat else that may be equally needful on other occasions, be it money or goods; which if they perform not, it is said they can never sail from the island, but will stand still in the sea, be the wind never so fresh. For this reason, it is said that, whenever any vessels, or gallies of Corso, come here, who are full of lawless needy rogues, they, that command in chief, have care to send some principal man, to see that nothing be embezzled by any of their company, for fear of being punished by the winds, &c. The stories of this place made some merriment amongst us, taxing one another, as if, at least in former voyages, we had taken somewhat sacred, for which we endured this crossness of weather.

" But in fine, be it how it will, we are freed by a fair gale, which, in little time, put us about ten leagues westward of Cape Bon; when, as if it had done its business, it turned about again with such fury, that our whole fleet bore up for the bay of Tunis, and arrived before the Goletta the fifteenth of April. We lay there all night, not thinking it safe to venture ourselves ashore, in a place where had been so great confusion, till we

could hear from thence. On the morrow our consul, Mr. Francis Baker, and Mr. Barrington, came off to us in one of their town-boats. After we had dined, they invited the captains and passengers to go ashore with them, all things having been peaceable for a long time; and accordingly, some that night, and some next morning, we went ashore; so that we were, at one time, above seventy English in Tunis from the ships.

"All the Frank nations live in a building, built by the government on purpose for them, distinguished into three houses, one for the English, one for the French, and one for the Jews of Italy. It is a good, commodious, and very substantial building, and for which they pay but a moderate rent. The English house is again subdivided into three several houses, or tenements; only two of which are made use of; the upper part by the consul, and that next by Mr. Barrington, and several English merchants; the undermost standing void. Under all these are large, fair magazines, all arched; so that they fear neither fire nor thieves.

"The buildings of Tunis are all very substantial, the country affording stone, and not timber. All their roofs are terrassed, and the bottoms of the rooms tiled with small squares, black and white, which look not ill. Their manner of building is, generally, to have few or no out-lights, but

all inwards to a square court, which is bigger, or less, according to the largeness of the house. In great houses they build their rooms very stately and high; but their rooms are generally small and very long, and some of them narrow; by which means, though dark, they are very cool, which must be their great end and aim in the buildings of this hot country. They use store of marble in their buildings; though they have none but what is fetched from Genoa, and other parts of Christendom.

"The supreme government of this place consists in three persons; viz. the grand signor's basha; the dey, or chief of the soldiery, that commands the castle, and lives in it; and the bey, or general, who leads out the soldiers twice a year to gather in the tribute from the Moors. When the government was more regular, all these met together in divan or town-house, and, with the ancients of the soldiery, consulted of the affairs of their state, and made peace or war. The government, taking it as it ought to be, differs nothing from the rest of the grand signor's frontier provinces, or bashalics. But this, being so far removed from his power, did never long continue in due obedience; but they, that first usurped, were the soldiery, who soon cast off the basha's authority, and put it into the hands of themselves. The chief of them governing the

great castle, and disposing of all things as they pleased; and, he also being to be succeeded by the ancientest of his fellows, helped by most voices of his soldiers, it soon came to be a popular government of the soldiery, who often took occasion to make way for themselves by cutting off their leaders.

"They kept the basha still as a cypher in the government, and still employed him in the payment of the soldiers, letting him get something also for himself, and wherewith to feed them at Constantinople. And he, contenting himself with this, lived well, and the grand signor was not offended. They always acknowledged to hold the place as rom him, and from time to time sent their presents.

"The great cause of their late evils hath been from the too great power of their beys, or genenerals, who, having grown vastly rich, and got that government into their families, have now, for a long time, swallowed up the authority of the divan, and made them little better than their servants; as they are at this day, serving them in their civil wars more like servants than masters. In former years, the divan set the said office to sale, every six months, to such as would give most for it. And then they accompanied, and what was got in more was the general's, and what it came to less, he must find; for the divan would not want of that they had bargained to have.

"Not many years since, a vessel was taken going from Corsica to Naples; wherein was one slave so fortunate in the service of his patron, then bey, that under him turning Turk, he obtained his liberty, and served for many years in the camp as second; and sometimes was trusted by his patron, and sent out, as his deputy, alone by himself. In this manner he got great riches, wherewith he served himself in an opportunity to outbid his master, bidding more than he was able to give; and so he became bey himself. In which place he not only continued, during his life, but he left it to his son, who, notwithstanding he came young to it, yet continued it also, with great authority, all his lifetime, and left it peaceably to his children. The father, that came from Corsica, was called Morat Basha; his son Sulliman Bey, who had made his interest mighty strong by alliances of himself, and his children, with the great families of the Moors, amongst whom there is great esteem for their ancient houses; ā thing not known among the Turks, except in their royal Ottoman family.

"At the death of this Sulliman Bey, were left two sons, Morat and Haftsa; to Morat he left the beylic, and to Haftsa he assigned certain lands, and left him potent in the city; the customs, and most of the gallies and shipping, belonging to him. In this manner these two brothers shared all the riches, and command, of that kingdom for many

years, creating whom they pleased Dey, or governor of the soldiers. Morat, little regarding the grand signor's basha, and going continually with the camp, cultivates his interest by all means of authority and alliance with the Moors. He matched his two sons, Ali and Mahmet, with their best and most potent families, intending to divide things between his sons, as his father had done.

"And in order to leave them in quiet possession and peace, he, in his lifetime, makes Mahmet, his eldest son, bey, and sends him out with the camp; in possession of which he was when Morat died: so that the youngest son, Ali, was, as it were, left unprovided for, and at the discretion of an elder brother and uncle. This uncle, though he had lived in great riches and ease, all the time of his brother Morat, yet now aspires to the command himself. And this he knew not better to effect, than to make differences between the brothers Mahmet and Ali, putting Ali on pretensions to an equality with his brother Mahmet; and to command the camp by turns, one to go with the summer, and the other with the winter camp. And they not agreeing in that manner (as how could it be thought they should?) the uncle Haftsa so works with the Turks of the castle and town, that it was soon thought needful for the state, to create him bey over them both; which beylic he pretended to take upon him, only as

an expedient, for the peace of the kingdom, till things could be equally divided between the brethren.

"All he did was in favour of Ali, whom he protected against his brother Mahmet; and Ali, not being able to deal with his brother, gave place to his uncle, at least for the present. Mahmet, finding things go thus, immediately, with what Turks he could join with him, flies up into the country to his Moorish relations, raising a great force, with which he takes in some of the out-castles, and makes down to Tunis with a power that Haftsa was not able to resist. Nor would the Turks in the town stick by him at all; but immediately declared for the son of Morat; and that they would know nothing of Haftsa. But now, they said, he would embroil their country with wars between him and his nephews; and, to prevent that, they threatened him with banishment, and afterwards pronounced it.

"But Haftsa was so wise, as to retire to Tripoli before the storm, or before his nephew Mahmet returned to the city; at which time he knew how it would fare with him.

"When Mahmet was peaceably established in the beylic of Tunis, his brother Ali carried himself so well, as to act nothing violently against him, but let him live in quiet, and concerned not himself in the government, giving possession of

all the lands and country that had been assigned Haftsa, by their father, for his maintenance; and would have done the like with all the fine houses and gardens, &c. of Haftsa, now, in Tripoli; but those Mahmet refused to meddle withal.

" Haftsa, now, in Tripoli, seeing no good to be done there, having great riches with him, transports himself for Constantinople; where he, by great expense, procures the grand signor's command for the bashalic, which was now void by the death of Usaph Basha, and writes to his nephew Mahmet, that he would content himself with that. But Mahmet not trusting him, and fearing also his brother Ali, whom he knew secretly to affect Haftsa, let fall words, as if he never should have peace till he had cut him off. This being carried to Ali, he provides for his own safety by a speedy flight to Algier, where he meets with but slow promises of assistance to recover his patrimony. But in the end, finding himself deluded, and his money to consume, he betakes himself to his father-in-law, a Moor of a potent family, by whose means he gets together a considerable army, which makes his brother Mahmet begin to look about him.

" Haftsa, in the mean time, comes from Constantinople, with some hundreds of soldiers he called Janizaries, to take possession of the bashalic; but was some few days too soon; Mahmet

being in the field fighting his brother: and his deputies in the city kept him out, not suffering him to land. Thereupon he returned back to Turkey; for he could not prevail with his Turks to wait upon the coast, to hear the success of the forces of the two brothers. It seems they found themselves already deceived; being all along told that they should be joyfully received by the people at Haftsa's arrival; and they would be no longer abused, but made him sail to the Morea, which, in great measure, was his ruin. For Achmet Basha, the Vizier Azem, who had taken his money, and invested him with the bashalic, was dead, and Cara Mustapha Basha succeeded. He, hearing that the country of Tunis had refused Haftsa, and that he was returned to Navarrin, and being desirous to make his market also of him, and at least to get his predecessor's gleanings, immediately sends and brings him to Constantinople, where he, to his great regret, receives dispatch on dispatch to come for Tunis; of which city and whole territory his nephew Ali was possessed not above three days after he had sailed from thence for the Morea. But now he was in the pound, and Cara Mustapha would not part with him, but kept him there a great while, and first permitted him to send one ship away to fetch money, all his first treasure being consumed; which ship also was slow in coming back. At

last, with much ado, he gets away and comes to Tunis, is received as basha, though not so kindly used by his nephew Ali as he expected; for his long absence had worn off some of the former kindness. And Ali, having now established himself, and so long subsisted without him, cares the less for him, and, possibly, would rather have had his room, than his company; as appeared by several slightings of him, and not giving him possession of his ancient patrimony, in which Ali was instated by his brother Mahmet at Haftsa's first flight to Tripoli. All which Haftsa sees he must now be contented with, and submit to.

"Mahmet, all this while, holds himself strong in his castle of Kef, some few days journey from Tunis; to which place he had carried great treasure, and whither the discontented of the Turks, that Ali had, by his cruelty, disobliged, and several of the fickle Moors, daily resort; so that with them, and his wife's kindred, again he takes the field. He had considerable advantages against his brother, who now again was forced to retire up into the country, and presently marches to the city. And they, making some face of resistance, yet, on the first summons, let him in; and all Ali's friends retired to the great castle, and fortified themselves there. Mahmet lays close siege for about two and twenty days; but, not being able to reduce it in that time, he found it needful to

retire, to encounter his brother, who was coming upon him with a great force of Turks and Moors. And those he was well nigh overcoming by a stratagem; for when Mahmet was come into Tunis, all the government, that were friends to Ali, retired into the castle. Mahmet, not being able to take them, would, at least, create new ones in their steads; and, out of the Turks that were with him, he makes over again all the officers of the divan, as much as if he had taken the castle, and cut them all off. Now, going to meet his brother with his camp in this manner, he sends some of his Turks to his brother's camp, to inform the Turks there, that he was possessed of the castle of Tunis, and had cut off all his enemies; and that now all the power and government of the Turks was with him; asking, why they would fight against their brethren, &c. Whereupon all the Turks, in Ali's camp, immediately leave him and join Mahmet; which had been his ruin, had he not forthwith set upon them with his Moors: which he did so suddenly, and so violently, that he cut off many of them, and routed all the rest; his brother Mahmet, with but a few, escaping to his castle of Kef. So that Ali comes with triumph to Tunis, rewarding his Turks who had so faithfully kept the great castle for him."

This concludes imperfect; but I guess it was intended to have been continued through the voyage home. What else happened to him of moment, must be supplied by what I have gathered from his own discourse. His condition in the ship was much improved beyond that of his embarkment for Archangel. Then he was a raw novice, or mere underling; and neither master, mate, nor mariner would deign to afford him any participation of the sailing account, as he very much desired. But here he was lord paramount, commanded his captain, and did what he pleased. He was in at all the observations and accounts of the ship's way, journal-keeping, chart, and the pricking of the ship's place. He found, as he said formerly, that the captains perform all this work mechanically, by the help of tables, out of which they extract all their sums: and, for doing it, they have a rule; but act without any notion, or idea, of the truth of that, which they are at work upon. If a man tells a sailor, that, if he steers directly N.E., he shall at length find himself in the pole, he will not apprehend it; but rather despise the ignorance of him that proposes such an affront to his chart. But (matters of skill apart) it is certain that, between reckoning and guess-work, they do wonderfully direct a ship from one part of the world to another; and, for the means, it is with them to determine, whether

Diverted with the sailing to Alicant.

they can make themselves understood therein, or not. In this voyage, the chief care of the merchant was to find himself employment to pass his time, which, upon the sea, was always fastidious to him. He had the rest of the fleet to observe, and the characters of the several vessels to comment upon, some windwardly, some not stay well, some slugs, some sail hard upon a wind, and fall off at large, with the reasons, and the humours of the winds in the Mediterranean. These served to divert the time till they arrived at Alicant in Spain.

The passage over land to Cadiz.

In that port our merchant, and some of his company, went ashore, and chose to travel over land to Cadiz, rather than sail round by Gibraltar. In this journey by land, which was over great mountains, they had no better carriage than a slight cart or two. The passage was very delightful to the merchant, who loved extremely to see new places, and such spacious views as he had from those Spanish hills. But the lodging, little better than in the open air, was their greatest mortification. One evening they came to a little barn upon a hill, and promised themselves a good night's sleep there. But the driver was observed to be very busy in making his bed under his cart. One of them asked him, why he would not lodge in the barn; he answered, because he would not be eaten alive; that is, by the *cimici*, which are of the sort of, but much worse than, our London

bugs. This was a seasonable item. The merchant, and his crew, made also their beds in the carts; and so rested as well as they might. He told us of vast herds of great beasts that he saw upon the hills, and about the country; which was a great surprise to him, because he had heard what a beggarly country of flesh Spain is. These herds, as they were told, belonged to some of the grandees of the country.

Diverted by marine experiments in the voyage from thence.

Our merchant was not ill qualified to travel in this country, and to converse in the great trading towns; for he spoke Giffoot very fluently, which is a corrupt Spanish. But because the Jews write it in Hebrew characters (which he also could do) it is called Giffoot, or the language which the Jews speak; so, having this dialect at command, he was his own interpreter. I suppose they did not stay long at Cadiz; for, as soon as the ships were come about, they went aboard, and pursued their voyage. And now the want of diversion began to press more than before; and they contrived divers amusements to supply it. The seas, in that voyage, being very deep, they fell to trying experiments by letting down bottles into the sea. They had the *dipsy* (or deep-sea) line at their command; and with this they let down an empty Florence flask well stopped, and found that, at one hundred fathom, or less, the flask constantly broke. Then they let down a common glass bottle tightly stopped, and in no depth could they

find it would break; but, somewhat beyond the former depth, they found the cork always thrust into the bottle; and, giving depth enough, this event never failed. These experiments demonstrate the weight of fluids, as of other bodies, according to quantity, which is gauged by the perpendicular.

Surprised an old woman; and came to his brother.

With these, and many other such amusements, they contrived to pass the tedious time at sea, till they came in sight of dear England; and then *look-out* was the word. The merchant had entertainment enough in observing the coast, and, coming into the river, his heart was full; and he no sooner landed, but he got information where his best brother lived, and, embarking in another sort of vessel, a hackney coach, steered directly thither. His brother was then lord chief justice of the common pleas; and his lady was dead; so, he not affecting to be altogether alone, it fell to my share to be almost constantly with him. The merchant came to his lordship's house at about eight in the morning, when we were in bed. The housekeeper had been formerly his lordship's laundress at the Temple, and knew well her master's brother so early as when he was at the writing school. She was a pthisical old woman, and could scarce crawl up stairs once a day. This gentleman appearing with his mustachios, according to the Turkish manner, *Cordubee* hat, and

strange out-of-the-way clothes, just as if one had been dressed up to act Captain Dangerfield in the play, she stood staring at him; and he, knowing her, called her by her name. By that she knew that it was her Master Dudley, and flew up stairs to tell the news, as if she had been a girl of sixteen; so forthwith he was conducted up to us. These particulars are mentioned to show what spirits sudden joy will inspire.

Wore his Turkish garb some days.

It is to no purpose, to describe the circumstances of this congress. It will readily be conceived to have been sufficiently happy. After a quarter of an hour's conversation, we sent him to a chamber to refresh, whilst we got up; and coming together again, it was pleasant to observe his figure; so bizarr was his face and dress. His first demand was a tailor, a tailor. The tailor came, but could not finish his office, in civilizing a *barbare*, under two days; and all that time he wore his Dangerfield habit and beard. It was pleasant to see him manage his mustachios; for, being apt to trespass upon the mouth, they were always, by an action, habitually put by, before drinking, one way and the other. But yet the beard would have a share out of the glass, and was made clean again by another habitual action of sipping the upper lip. This garb may seem very monstrous to us here; but, in the Levant cities, clothes are not more necessary than a beard to one that writes

man. After a certain age, nothing is to be taken from the upper lip; but, underneath, all is shaven clean away; and more than that is infamous. But now the western usages must govern.

The power of custom.

With the tailor came the barber, who, like Time with his scythe, mowed down this fertile crop. And the merchant himself could not but be surprised to see his own face in a glass, after the mustachios were departed; and, turning away his head, laughed at himself. Such power hath custom over men's sentiments and opinions; for he could not help being ashamed of his face. It was a considerable time before this upper lip, having been long shaded from the sun, took the same tawn as the rest of his face; but, looking white and pale, made a strange disfigurement. And it was matter of ridicule to see him always, before drinking, act with his fingers to part away his (then) no beard; and, when he had done, to sip his upper lip, although the mop, to be cleaned, was gone. In the course of action habitual, reason and reflection stand by. A stronger power is in possession, and must be removed, not by assault, but, if at all, by a long siege. The greatest part, of what we act in our lives, is more machinery than the effect of either will or reason.

Sleeping out of time cured.

His father, the Lord North, had then been dead for some years; but his mother was alive, who had nursed him in the plague, and had been

immeasurably fond of him; and not without violence to her affection, and out of respect to his good, had parted with him to go into all the hazards of a supercargo merchant. I may say she was revived by the news of his arrival, and more by a sight of him; for, as soon as he was accoutred, he took a journey down into Suffolk, to pay his duty to her. After a decent time spent with her, he returned to London, where he had large concerns to superintend. He continued for some time to lodge with us, at his best brother's house. Where, according to his former usage, when any great alteration of his condition or circumstances happened, his working mind, about ordering his affairs in a fit posture for his future management of them, would not let him sleep all the night. It was the custom, at first, for his brother, who generally rose before seven, to go into the merchant's chamber, and there finish his dressing. And he always found him awake, and complaining he had not slept. But, upon his leaving him, he slept soundly till ten or eleven; whereby he lost his morning, which he could not endure. He perceived that this want of timely sleeping grew to be a very great inconvenience. This made him resolve to take his old course, and make a thorough cure at once. Accordingly he resolved, whatever became of him, sleep or not sleep, to rise when his brother rose,

and so to secure his mornings to better purposes than droning abed. He took this course, and declared that, for four nights together, he was not sensible that he had slept at all; but, on the fifth night, he slept with a full gale till morning, without any waking at all. This, as was noted, shows that men may conquer any inconveniences, that grow by custom, if they are not wanting to themselves in courage and resolution. And it is certain, that want of timely sleep, if not obstructed by some disease, may be cured by a pertinacity in watching; for Nature will have the rest she needs, and, in a state of health, will secure it against all the noises and disturbances whatsoever, as may be observed by the deep sleep of poor seamen, who are (as they call it) overwatched.

His mother dying, he acted for her executor.

It fell out that, just at our entrance upon the western circuit, news came that the good Lady North was dead, and had made me her sole executor. We had, at that time, the misfortune of an elder brother's importunity, who was not contented that any of our common concerns should pass quietly and smooth; and he, being heir at law, might enter; after which, the management of the personal estate would be very difficult. Wherefore, to prevent great inconveniences, since it was not in my power to attend in person to dispatch the goods forthwith out of the house, as was thought necessary to be done, I entreated him to

go down and finish that work for me. He most willingly undertook it; and, after his arrival, he there first showed what an agent of dispatch he was: for, in little more than a week after the funeral, he had cleared the premises of all the goods, except a few which were left for the heir, to have his option to take if he pleased; being what could not be removed without prejudice to him. He was so obliging to declare we must, in a time, take all that belonged to us, and, after that, he would permit nothing to be removed. This made the merchant ply his time. One difficulty he had, which was to get out the brewing-vessels; for the doors were too little for them to pass; and he could engage none of the family to saw out a threshold to make way, for that was a trespass to the freehold. But he and his foot-boy went to work, and cut it out, and the vessels were rolled into an old moat, and from thence carried away. He had an aching tooth, as they say, at the mill-stones of a water-mill; but the learned told him, those were part of the freehold: otherwise he made no account but, as a true factor, to accomplish his business according to his rule and trust, to perfection.

His art and industry in working.

He wrought every day in person, taking down, sorting, disposing, and contriving packs, which he did according to art, and beyond the skill, I had almost said the pains, of a porter. The

neighbours, as the custom is on such occasions, for curiosity, came to see what was doing; he little minded them, but went on with his business. They were in admiration at his personal industry, and art in employing others. Before he had quite finished his work, the heir at law made a descent upon him; and, then, litigating was added to labour. And this happening when the beds, all but one reserved for his use whilst he stayed, were sent away, the litigants were forced to lie together in that one bed at night. After we came together, and he gave us the history of his pains-taking, among other grievances, one was, that, after scolding all day, his brother and he were forced to lie together all night. I told him in merriment, that was the least thing of a thousand, for most men and their wives did it continually. But, as to the business itself, he gave me books, in which were registered, not only the accounts to a farthing, but every bundle and parcel by marks, or letters, with the contents in each, particularized to a trifle, and where they were sent or disposed: so that, notwithstanding the hurry of moving, and sending things away to several places, I had a digest of the whole, and could go to the place, parcel, drawer, &c. to find any thing I had a mind to. This I remember as a piece of justice; being all I can return for so singular an act of friendship: and let that, which

I think enough, excuse the seeming small import of this memoir.

Settled as a merchant in London.

In London he found that his business, which was very considerable, made it needful for him to have warehouses, and to converse near the Exchange, and in a mercantile way, that so he might readily carry persons to see his goods; which could not be done, whilst he lived, and conversed, most at the other end of the town. Whereupon he took a lodging, together with some other bachelor merchants, in a house that was kept by a gentlewoman of good value and appearance, the widow of a merchant deceased; and there they had their diet also, at a certain price: and, I am persuaded, any one of them might have been master of the house, whenever he pleased. But, although they did not differ upon that point, or any thing else, he, who had been so long *padron di casa*, or the governor of a ragion, was weary of that boyish course of life, and resolved, by the first opportunity, to take a house, and live after his own way. At length, he found a good convenient house in Basinghall-street, with a coach-gate into the yard, next to that which Sir Jeremy Sambrook used; and there he settled. He had the opportunity of a good housekeeper, that had been his mother's woman; though some thought her too fine for a single man, as he was, and might give scandal, and occasion his habitation being called *Bussing-*

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hall-street. But, when he, that had a command of himself, did what he thought reasonable, he always slighted what people, at a distance, said of it. Here he found himself master of all that belonged to himself, and could have the pleasure of returning the civilities of his friends, by entertaining them as he pleased.

Disliked paying and receiving by bankers.

Living in this way, he applied himself wholly to business, and did not dream of any thing to happen that might divert him. He found divers usages in London very different from what had been practised, in his time, there, or in any other place where he had lived: as, first, touching their running cash, which, by almost all sorts of merchants, was slid into goldsmiths' hands; and they themselves paid and received only by bills; as if all their dealings were *in banco*.* He counted this a

* The merchants of London were, at one period, accustomed to deposit their superfluous cash, for safe custody, in the Mint; where 200,000*l.* was seized by Charles I. "The Mint had then the credit of a bank, and for several years had been the treasury of all the vast payments transmitted from Spain to Flanders." *(Temple's Miscellanies.)* Soon after this period, it became usual for the merchants to deposit their cash in the hands of the goldsmiths, who thus became bankers. See "*The Mystery of the new-fashioned Goldsmiths, or Bankers, discovered,*" 1676; cited in *Anderson on Commerce,* vol. ii. p. 533. Sir Josiah Child, in his *Discourse on Trade,* has expressed an opinion as to the bankers, similar to that of Sir Dudley North.

foolish, lazy method, and obnoxious to great accidents; and he never could bring himself wholly to comply with it. For, having taken an apprentice, one Fairclough, the son of a Presbyterian old usurer, he paid and received all by his cash-keeper, in his own counting-house, as merchants used to do. But, at length, he was prevailed on to use Benjamin Hinton, a Lombard-street man; and, for acting therein against his conscience, was punished with the loss of about fifty pounds. But others lost great sums by this man; and his breaking made a great shake upon the Exchange. I remember, he hath come home (for, at first, he was, as I said, with us) in great amazement at his own greatness; for the banking goldsmiths came to him upon the Exchange, with low obeisances, "hoping for the honour"—"should be proud to serve him," and the like; and all for nothing but to have the keeping of his cash. This pressing made him the more averse to that practice; and, when his acquaintance asked him where he kept his cash, he said, "At home; where should he keep it?" They wondered at him, as one that did not know his own interest. But, in the latter end of his time, when he had left the city, and dealt more in trusts and mortgages, than in merchandize, he saw a better bottom, and used the shop of Sir Francis Child, at Temple-bar, for the paying and receiving all his great sums.

Offended at clipped money; with the use of a *Besastein.*

I should here mention another thing that much surprised him; which was the clipped money. He observed, and wondered, that it was current; and he could not be persuaded, but that he took so much less for his goods, as the money wanted of weight. But I have so much to remember upon this head, that, having reserved a place express for it, no more is said here; but I proceed next to mention the want of a convenience in London, which was admirably supplied in Constantinople; and that was the *Besastein.* This is a place like the Exchange, built of stone, and very strong; it was proof against fire, as well as against thieves. There, goods of all kinds were taken in for safe custody, and delivered out again, upon payment of a very small *premio.* The manner of disposition in it is much like that of the king's warehouse at the Custom-house; where is an order, and servants, whereby any thing taken in may readily be found, and brought forth. In the upper part, there was a perpetual outcry, or sale of goods, not, as here, in a sort of office, till all is dispatched, but by men running about from one place to another, and crying the price. There a man may go for his diversion, and, sitting down, observe; for instance, a scimitar: "So much bid for this; who bids more?" You may look on it; and, if you say any thing more, away runs the fellow, and cries it; and, if he finds no more bid, he brings it

to you, and it is yours for your money. And so, for almost every kind of thing that any man desires or uses, it is odds but he is accommodated. While our merchant was a young beginner in London, he wanted many things, and he believed they were easy to be procured; but those that wanted him, could not find him any more than he them. Then he complained of his want of the Constantinople Jews, that, in such cases, brought buyers and sellers together: but of them before.

Coffee, but not coffee-houses in Constantinople.

Another thing, new to him in London, was the coffee-houses. There were scarce any when he was last before in England; and, for certain, none at all when he first went out.* At Constantinople they had coffee, but no coffee-houses; for those were not suffered; it having been found the people, by a tendency to sedition, made an ill use of them. In Constantinople, the coffee, with a furnace and utensils, is carried about the street upon a man's breast, as they do baskets of wares; and, if any one hath a mind to a dish of coffee, he calls the coffee-man, (one or other of them, like our porters, being commonly within hearing) and sits him down and drinks it. If one would gratify the workmen in a shop, there is no such thing as asking them to drink; they will answer, "They

* See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. i. p. 318, note.

are not adry;" but they will be very thankful for a dish of coffee; and then the coffee-man is called. Nay, there are men so charitable as, by a vow, to spend their lives in carrying water about, which they offer to all people; and those, that are hot and dry, accept their courtesy. This shows that, in those hot countries, the gift of a cup of cold water was not so despicable as it is thought to have been.

Bought stock in the African Company, and made Director.

But, to repair to London again, from whence we were slipped back. Our merchant, finding the great trading companies in credit, and himself a stranger to that sort of dealing, and that most of his friends and acquaintance were concerned in one or other of them, thought fit to buy stock in the Royal African Company,* to such a value as might qualify him to be of the committee for direction of the trade; and, accordingly, he was chosen. He applied himself to attend and manage, as he thought became him, and he was bound to do. By this he had two advantages; one was, the being let into the knowledge of trade in companies, and of this in particular; the other was, making himself known, and what his abilities, in the management of all sorts of business, were. And here it was that, in the opinion of

* Established in the year 1672; the fourth and last exclusive company of merchants trading to Africa. The trade became open in 1689.

the Exchange, he first did justice to his character. For he was sagacious to take the substance of any matter, at the first opening; and then, having by proper questions more fully informed himself, could clearly unfold the difficulty, with all its circumstances of advantage and disadvantage, to the understanding of others. He was an exquisite judge of adventures, and the value and eligibility of them. He was very quick at discerning the fraud, or sincerity, of many persons the Company had trusted; as also the characters of those that proffered, and were examined, in order to be employed or trusted. If he once found that any person was false, and had cheated the Company, he was ever after inflexible; and no solicitation, or means whatsoever, could prevail with him to cover or connive; but he laid them open as broad as the day. It is often found that men, in a public trust, will give way to favour; and, for poverty, presents, or solicitation, indulge and intercede for what they would not bear in their own private concerns. But, as to matter of future trust, no means could take our merchant off a knave's skirts, if ever, in public or private concerns, he had once found him out.

His adherence to rule nearly cost him his life.

This positive conduct of his, however in itself commendable, had like to have cost him his life. Upon an examination at the African house, a captain of a ship was convicted of having de-

frauded the Company most grossly; and, indeed, it was by our merchant's acuteness and skill that the discovery was made. Afterwards, this captain, having softened divers of the committee, made his applications for another trust. Our merchant adhered to his conviction, and would by no means consent to his being employed again. He thought that, in such a managery, there was so much of trust, that, of necessity, they must be, more or less, cheated; and all the means that could possibly be used, would not prevent it. Therefore, when cheats are once found out, to pass them by, or connive, encourages frauds; and they will have no reason to expect honest dealing: for men are not honest by principle, but by interest, and fear that relates to it; and it were all one as to throw up, and surrender the Company's effects, to be embezzled by those that are trusted with them. Upon this, against the inclination of some of the committee, the order was, that the captain should be held to account, and not be farther employed; for, upon such a staring detection as had been made, none could persist in his favour. But, after the committee was up, and the gentlemen moving about the room, one went out and told the captain whom he might thank. Thereupon the captain enters the room with his sword drawn, and went directly towards Mr. North, who stood talking with some at the upper

end of the room, with a direct intent to stab him. But, as he came near, one of the merchants, perceiving his sword, struck it down; and so he missed his purpose. Mr. North broke his cane upon the fellow's head; which was all the satisfaction he had for so dangerous an assault; for he would not be persuaded to prosecute the man, to make him an example.

Recommended by his lordship, whose intent in it was mistaken.

The Lord Chief Justice North, finding his brother falling thus pell-mell into affairs of trade; and perceiving, by his conversation, that he had an uncommon penetration and capacity, both in general and particular direction of matters to be transacted by the application of many heads and hands, thought, sincerely, that he should do his majesty a signal piece of service in recommending him to some post, of which, in the revenue business, there were not a few that needed such an one as he was: and if, withal, he did good to his brother, his integrity and service to the king his master was never the less. Accordingly, he took an opportunity to speak of him to my Lord Rochester (then at the head of the Treasury), and told him, that he had a brother, lately arrived from Turkey, who understood trade, and the marine, perfectly well; and, he believed, it would be for his majesty's service, if his lordship thought fit to recommend him to any employment in the Customs, or where such a person

might be useful; and that, really, he believed that no man in England was so well qualified to serve the king, as his brother was. But his lordship so little thought there could be an impartial man in the world, that, for answer, he only smiled; which was as much as to say, that he thought my lord chief justice came to palm his brother upon him. By this it appeared, that the Lord Rochester did not understand men. But his mind altered afterwards; of which more is said in the life of the same chief justice.

The plot of Oates possessed the merchants abroad.

But, now we are drawing near to the public, I must remember what a reverend opinion of Oates, and his accomplices, our merchant brought over with him. It was the method of all the fautors of the plot which bore his name along with it, whether for malice, or ignorance, but more especially the former, to cram down all indifferent people's throats a belief of it. Those that lived in the time, must needs see the credit it had, I mean with indifferent people, was more through artifice, or rather force, than right reason. And, according to this scheme, the London merchants, and particularly those trading to the Levant, being generally among the fautors, belaboured all their factors with their accounts of the most horrid conspiracy, &c. discovered by that instrument of Providence, Oates. That the same plot was still carrying on, and they were not come to the bot-

tom of it yet; but they hoped, by the next conveyance, they should send them this same bottom of the plot. Those who had relations or friends abroad, and had other sentiments of the matter, did not, nay dare not, write any thing in derogation of Oates, or his plot; for, such a letter intercepted and produced, the writer had gone headlong into the midst of it; at least had suffered for traducing the justice of the nation. So the intelligence ran all on one side; and there is no wonder that Oates should be so idolized, as he was, amongst the factors and merchants at Constantinople. Our merchant told us that, in all their jollities, next to the king's health, Oates's was celebrated. But they thought it very strange that the next letters did not bring the bottom, nor the next; but still, by the next, they hoped they should have it. Thus our merchant came home seasoned; but, instead of finding the bottom turned up, the moon was in the wane, and Oates was become almost a common detestation. It was some time before we could, by discourse, give him a right idea of our public; so hard held he upon the prejudice that was burnt into him, by letters from England, about this devilish plot. But, by degrees, he saw daylight, and detested that nest of villains as much as we did; and his behaviour afterwards showed him to be a true convert.

Found us in high flights of Whig and Tory.

He found us almost ready to go together by the ears, about public matters, which soon settled in the terms of *Whig* and *Tory*.* Those were the appellatives; but the mythology was *seditious* and *loyal;* the history of which is fully related in the Examen. Those who joined in all the wicked practices to destroy the then present government, and those who endeavoured, by all justifiable means, to sustain the credit and authority of it (as there was need enough) against the stratagems and under-hand dealings of the others. The former were also distinguished by crying up Oates's plot; and the others, by crying it down. And, upon such terms of faction, heats, animosities, strivings, tumults, seditions, and what not of disorder, was grown to that height, as made Whitehall shake; all which is fully made appear in the said Examen. The Whigs declared a war against the person of the Duke of York, who was unhappily declared a Roman Catholic; and they stirred up, and abetted proceedings, solemnly to have him excluded from succeeding to the crown. The Tories understood well, that this did not strike more at the duke, than at the king himself; for, if the exclusion passed, the king must be deprived of his magistracy and militia, without which the exclusion would not be safe; and that

* See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. i. p. 404, note.

which could not have been, modestly, asked before, would then have been demanded; and the granting what they asked, would have made a reason to ask what could not, without the ruin of the public, be granted; and yet they thought they should be able to extort it: and, for that reason, they were impetuous for the exclusion, even to madness; or, as if they were fully bent, in the first place, to extort even that.

Some particulars omitted, and why.

I shall not here give any account of this plot of Oates's, nor of the monster brought forth by it, called *Ignoramus*; nor of the troubles about choosing sheriffs of London and Middlesex, because a particular account is given of all these in the Examen, and the Life of this gentleman's best brother, the Lord Keeper North. It may be found also in the same Life, how this gentleman was persuaded to hold sheriff; I shall therefore omit that also, and proceed to some particulars, not so exactly related there.

Means used by terrors, to divert him, but in vain.

As soon as he had determined to hold sheriff, and that was known, the agitators of the opposing party were at their wits' end; for they knew on what bottom the whole machine rested, viz. the Lord Chief Justice North's reputation and authority. He was one whom, by all their arts, terrors, and insinuations, they could never seduce to move a hair's breadth from what he judged to be his

duty to the crown: and that also he esteemed to be his best service to his country; since that way only he thought justice and peace in the nation was to be maintained. He concluded that, with his majesty and his government, the church, and national liberty, and the people's safety and property, must stand and fall together. And, besides this steadiness, it was yet worse; for, with his skill in the law, and known adherence to justice, for which he was celebrated by the citizens, among whom he had acted as chief judge for many years, he had also an interest and authority in all the counties of England, in most of which he was, not only loved, but revered. All this cast such a damp upon the cause of the faction, as they could not bear. They turned every stone, executed every invention, that could be contrived, to break this system. They bellowed and roared with univocal noise, not only in the city, but all over England, that Sir John Moor* and his Sheriff North should both be hanged, for their daring to invade the rights of the citizens. They applied to work personally upon Mr. North; for the party men, that were his friends and acquaintance, and even those that were indifferent, came about

* See the character of Sir John Moor, in the *Examen*, p. 596; where an account is also given of the transactions mentioned in the text. See also Burnet, (*Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 914.)

him, wondering what he meant. "What!" said they, "put yourself in a place that is disputed, and that with so much rage and fury? You 'll certainly be undone." All that he answered was, "I 'm a citizen, and I 'll obey the city. If I 'm called upon an office, the oath I took as a freeman requires me to obey; and, by the grace of God," clapping his hand on his head, "so I will," said he, "and never break my head about titles."

He was all this while unconcerned.

But, what was very remarkable, in the midst of all this bruit, when most people expected Mr. North should not have come much abroad, or have appeared concerned, if not somewhat dubious, at a time when his name was broiling upon the coals, being the subject of all the talk of the town, and, as the faction had ordered the matter, country to boot; yet he went about his business, and walked the streets to and fro, with all the freedom and mirth he used to show, as if nothing stirring had concerned him. It was pleasant, whilst walking with him, to see fellows in haste stop at the sight of him, and let him pass by while they stared; and, in little companies, on the other side, people, in their talk, looking and pointing towards him, as saying, "that 's he." This behaviour was wondered at, and differently interpreted, according to the complexion of the observers. The party men, who knew best why they were so concerned to retain their dear impunity, rested not, but were

continually pushing some experiment or other to divert him. They found out his ordinary friends, and wrote penny-post letters about, that they might, for his own good, which the writers (forsooth) were tender of, dissuade him: and not a few came, directed to himself, in the guise of good-will. At length, they called him *blind Bayard*, and made a stupid insensible ass of him, that understood not what he was about. And so this bull-beggar trade went on, till after the election; which made matter of discourse, and sometimes merriment, among ourselves; but altered not the state of his case one jot.

They endeavour to hinder his match, but in vain.

But one thing the party did, which was really malicious, and might have had an unfortunate turn upon him. They found out that, at this time, he was in full courtship of a widow lady, very beautiful and rich, the daughter of Sir Robert Cann, a morose old merchant of Bristol.* They caused letters to be sent to this old gentleman, from some in London that he valued, intimating that his daughter was going to throw herself away upon a new-comer, that, all people believed, was not worth a groat; else he would not act so desperately as he did; for, if he went on, he would certainly be hanged. And the lady herself was

* See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. ii. p. 26. And the *Examen*, p. 603.

plied with gossips; but her penetration was not so shallow as their tittle-tattle. She lodged in the house of an understanding merchant, one Mr. George Sitwel; and, it is likely, the gentleman gave a good account of his proceedings, both to his lady, and the merchant her friend; and, as it fell out, all this wind shook no corn in that quarter.

The new sheriffs give bond, and are sworn.

Not long after the declaration of the choice at the Common Hall, there came to Mr. Dudley North a summons to attend my lord mayor and court of aldermen. He attended, and was told that he had been duly elected, by the city at their Common Hall, to be one of the sheriffs for London and Middlesex for the next year ensuing; and they required him to give the common security to hold, or he must expect to be fined. He, in a short speech, disabled himself, as a stranger to, and unexperienced in, English affairs; therefore not qualified for such a place: and, moreover, he heard much discourse touching the illegality of his being chosen; and he hoped he should not be put upon an office of which the right was disputed. He was ordered to withdraw, and soon after called in, and told that the whole court was very well satisfied of his capacity for the office he was chosen into; and, as to the title, it was unanimously agreed by the whole court (the five aldermen of the faction being then present), none

dissenting, that he was duly elected, and must serve. Thereupon he submitted; and, having entered into bonds with condition to be sworn into, and to execute, the office of sheriff, he was, for that time, dismissed. And, when the time came, he was solemnly sworn, and, passing the forms, was allowed at the Exchequer.* And the old sheriffs turned over the gaols to these new ones, in accustomed manner and form; wisely determining not to refuse that, for reasons already declared in the Examen. I might here mention an attempt of the faction, through Mr. Fairclough, to make Mr. North b—te himself, as they used to term it; but it is particularly related in the Examen, so shall not make any repetition of it.

Sir Robert Cann denies his consent to the match with his daughter.

During all these turbulences in the public, Mr. North did not neglect his main; which was to accomplish his match with the Lady Gunning. Concerning which, I must remember that, as soon

* "The violence and injustice," says Burnet, "with which this matter was managed, showed that the court was resolved to carry the point at any rate; and this gave great occasions of jealousy that some wicked design was on foot, for which it was necessary, in the first place, to be sure of favourable juries." (*Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 317.) For a full account of these transactions, see the *Examen*, (p. 595, *et seq.*) and the Trial of Pilkington and others for a riot (*Howell's State Trials*, vol. ix. p. 187.) See also the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. i. p. 355. *et. seq.*

as it was seriously thought of, I took upon me to write to Sir Robert Cann, her father, with whom I was well acquainted, and proposed the match to him, setting forth Mr. North with all the advantage I could. The old knight returned an answer, and, in it, an enorm demand, viz. that when Mr. North had purchased an estate, in land, of three or four thousand pounds a year (I know not which) whereby he might make settlements suitable to his daughter's fortune, he would hearken to my proposition; but none, of less estate in land, must pretend to her. This was cold water, and I desisted. But, when a good advance was made in the lady's favour, she adhering resolutely to have her father's consent, without which she would never marry, Mr. North himself wrote to Sir Robert, in general terms, for his consent upon making such settlements as should be a proved. His answer was to the same effect, viz. that when he had produced his particulars, &c. Then Mr. North wrote again a proposition to settle twenty thousand pounds to purchase an estate, &c. The old man answered thus, "Sir, my answer to your first letter is an answer to your second. Your humble servant, R. C." Mr. North returned, "Sir, I perceive you like neither me nor my business. Your humble servant, D. N." And there ended the correspondence with the father at that time. But, in the meantime, he had wrote to his daughter,

to show her the precipice she was upon; going to marry a desperado, not worth a groat, and one that would certainly be hanged.

The match proceeds, and upon wise measures accomplished.

But the old man, at length, finding this would be a match, when the dust, raised by party-work, was well cleared off, fell in; and, since he could not have his will in the person, he resolved to have it in the settlements. So, besides what Mr. North settled, he must turn over all his wife's fortune, of all kinds, for her separate dispose. This done, he consented; and the match, with a very honourable attendance, was solemnized. But the lady, whose judgment and penetration was superior to most of her sex, took care, before she went to church, to commit her separate maintenance to the flames, as being, for the most part, a make-bait, and never of use but in the cases of young folks, whose characters are not known. Any one that hath lived in the view of the world, as she had done, might easily discern a good man from a bad one. The many marks of family, company, reputation, successes, &c. seldom fail to indicate a man's moral character. It was almost impossible but this match must prove happy; for here were two persons to be joined, that were wise and sincere, and who meant the same thing, that is, to make each other happy. I have heard Mr. North say, that he never feared an ill wife if the woman was wise; for then she would go to her interest;

and he could make that so plain to her, as she could not mistake it. The only thing he feared in a match, was the being made infamous; which was in a woman's power to do; and there were no means upon earth to prevent it. He had not heard, I suppose, what a gentleman said, who, on that account, had parted with his wife. "It's true," said he, "I was a cuckold; but now I am none, for I have cut off my horns."

His lady's good-nature. Account of a visit to Bristol.

But, to show how this lady condescended to oblige her husband after she was married, I must observe that, contrary to her nature and humour, which was to be retired, she kept him company in public at his feastings, sitting at the upper end of the table at those noisy and fastidious dinners. And it did not a little illustrate his happiness in the midst of these shrieval troubles, when the citizens came, that a lady so beautiful and rich, with her *belles airs*, advanced, receiving and saluting so much company. But it was to continue only for one year; so she endured it. The old knight, her father, came at last to be proud of his son; for when the first visit was paid at Bristol, Mr. North, to humour the vanity of that city and people, put himself in a splendid equipage. And the old man, in his own house, often said to him, "Come, son, let us go out and shine," that is, walk about the streets with six footmen, in rich liveries, attending. But when he found the sepa-

rate deed given up, and the furniture she had there, packing away, he was enraged, and told her she was cheated, &c. He made her so afraid of him that she durst not stay in his house without her husband, but chose to accompany him over sea to St. Brevill's, where her jointure lay, though sick to death (being breeding), rather than stand her father's discourse to her. But all was well at last; as will be told afterwards.

Applied to feasting the companies, &c.

When all the forms of this shrieval instalment were over, Mr. North received the honour of knighthood; which he would have declined, saving for two reasons; one was, the usage of the city, which the magistrates are commonly delighted with, and pay willingly for that court-compliment; and his not embracing it had been taken ill of him. The other reason was, that his wife might not be styled the Lady Gunning; which separation, even of names, he chose to avoid. But, as to honour and place, that which he had by birth, was superior. The great alteration visible in the faces of the citizens after this election, has been taken notice of in the Examen. And, as the custom of feasting, lately laid aside, was now resumed, Mr. North took a great hall, that belonged to one of the companies, and kept his entertainments there. He had divers very considerable presents from friends and relations, besides the compliments of the several companies

inviting themselves and wives to dinner, dropping their guineas, and taking apostle spoons in the room of them; which, with what they ate and drank, and such as came in the shape of wives (for they often gratified a she-friend or relation with that preferment), carried away, made but an indifferent bargain. The Middle Templars (because of his relation to the Lord Chief Justice North, who was of that society,) came with a compliment, and a purse of one hundred guineas, and were entertained. The mirth and rejoicing, that was in the city, as well at these feasts as at private entertainments, is scarce to be expressed. It was so great that those, who called themselves the sober party, were very much scandalized at it; and lamented the debauchery that had such encouragement in the city; as is more particularly related in the Examen.* It is, however, certain

* *Examen*, p. 617. "At all the Tory healths, as they were called, the cry was reared of *huzza*, which, at these great and solemn feasts, made no little noise, and gave advantage to the Whigs, that liked not such music, to charge the Tories with brutality and extravagance." The dissatisfied temper of the citizens had shown itself in their abstaining from their usual festivities, which it was the object of Sir Dudley North to revive:—"all the feasting and common good-fellowship of the neighbourhood laid aside; and in coffee-houses and corners of the streets continual debates about party making and party working, and not seldom right down scolding and quarrelling." (*Examen*, p. 597.)

that Mr. North, who had a set of servants as good as he hoped ever to have, found that the loose living, during the shrievalty, had spoiled them all; and he could not keep one of them after the year was ended.

The troubles of the capital executions during the year.

I omit the share he had in composing the tumults about burning the Pope, because that is already accounted for in the Examen, and the Life of the Lord Keeper North. Neither is there occasion to say any thing of the rise and discovery of the Rye plot, for the same reason. Nor is my subject much concerned with this latter, farther than that the conspirators had taken especial care of Sir Dudley North. For he was one of those who, if they had succeeded, was to have been knocked on the head, and his skin to be stuffed, and hung up in Guildhall.* But, all that apart, he reckoned it a great unhappiness that so many trials for high treason, and executions, should happen in his year. However, in those affairs the sheriffs were passive; for all returns of pannels, and other dispatches of the law, were issued and done by the under-officers; which was a fair

* It is singular, that the writer, who could deride the preposterous falsehoods of the Popish plots, should give credit to the ridiculous report in the text; which is equal in absurdity to one of Fitzharris's revelations—that a number of members of Parliament were to be boiled alive by the Papists, to form an oil to anoint the future kings of England.

screen for them. They attended at the trials and executions, to coerce the crowds, and keep order; which was enough for them to do. I have heard Sir Dudley North say that, striking with his cane, he wondered to see what blows his countrymen would take upon their bare heads, and never look up at it. And indeed nothing can match the zeal of the common people to see executions. The worst grievance was the executioner coming to him for orders, touching the abscinded members, and to know where to dispose of them. Once, while he was abroad, a cart, with some of them, came into the court-yard of his house, and frighted his lady almost out of her wits. And she could never be reconciled to the dog hangman's saying he came to speak with his master. These are inconveniences that attend the stations of public magistracy, and are necessary to be borne with, as magistracy itself is necessary. I have now no more to say of any incidents during the shrievalty; but that, at the year's end, he delivered up his charges to his successors in like manner as he had received them from his predecessor; and, having reinstated his family, he lived well and easy at his own house, as he did before these disturbances put him out of order.

The next public station he had, was that of alderman of Basinghall, in which he lived. He came in first by election, and, after the charter

Chosen alderman, and acted as justice of the peace.

was seized, he held on by commission. This brought him into the Court of Aldermen, and gave him the authority of a justice of peace. That office fell out to be more than ordinary troublesome; because, in the discovery of the Rye plot, it had appeared that the whole confederacy rested upon a conventicling foot. Whereupon the king did not intend that course of connivance, which had given them means of doing him so much hurt, should continue; but ordered the magistrates to do their duty, as the laws required. The informers had encouragement enough; for they had a third of the penalty paid as it was levied; and constables were allowed for their charges, or time spent, in making the levies:* and, since they were invited to the employment, there were enough to bring business of this kind to justices of peace, for the time it lasted, all over England; especially in London. And of this he had a full share; and as to the troubles, loss, and scandal, that was intended to have been brought over him, and his family, for what he did in that capacity, another place will soon declare.

His mild behaviour as justice of the peace.

It is certain that he took very little pleasure in this office; for, whenever people came with business, and, as their way is, to wrangle and scold

* This passage throws a good deal of light upon the history of the Rye-house plot, and shows that the court had been accustomed to connive at the conspiracies formed against it.

before him, he used to sit attentively (as they thought) observing them. When, in truth, he was watching for handles to get rid of them; and if he found any, he was most rigorous in not exceeding his authority, and made the best of his pretences to drive them all away. As, for instance: upon complaints for breaches of the peace; if he found out that an action of trespass, or battery, lay, he sent them straight away to the law; and he was far from being good to his clerk, by forward and frequent binding over. But yet, in cases that he thought belonged to his office to order in, he never formalized, but determined as the law required. He used to say he did not understand, when business came properly before him, what choice he had, as some folks expected, to meddle, or let it alone. But he never went a hair's breadth out of the way, to trouble, or grieve, any body.

His dealing in conventicling cases.

But now, as to what he did in the conventicling business, I must crave leave to extend my relation, beyond the two king's reigns, whom he served, into that of King William and Queen Mary, and even beyond the thread of his own life. For the same spirit, that gave him some trouble while he was alive, when he was gone, continued to trouble his widow and relations that he left behind him. But, to give the devil his due, it was not wholly a spirit of malice and

revenge, but of covetousness also; and that, perhaps, had the greatest share. When informations of conventicles came before him, he took the examinations, and made the convictions as the law directs, and then gave out his warrants to the constables to levy; who, having raised the money, brought it to him, and he first set off the charges, and then gave one-third, of what remained, to the informer, and another to the constable to the use of the poor, and the other third he kept in his hands to be answered to the king. And of all this proceeding he kept a waste-book referring to the informations on his file; and, at fitting times, passed the sums into his journal and ledger, and, of all payments, kept special acquittances.

The project of conventicling money.

This trade lasted about nine months; and then abated; and, at the death of King Charles the Second, wholly ceased; and, at that time, there rested about one hundred and fifty pounds in his hands, of what was due to the crown. He was not aware of the common usage of the justices, to pay this money to the clerk of the peace at the sessions, and knew not well what to do with it. At length, being with my Lord Rochester (who then was at the head of the Treasury), and acquainting him with it, desired his directions what to do with the money. His lordship bade him pay it into the Exchequer, and strike a tally of discharge for it; which he did; and the tally expressed the sum,

and the times between which it was levied. This was the best acquittance he could have had for it. After the Revolution, the fanatics were rampant, and made a full account to meet with their old friends in the irregularities they expected to discover to have passed in the proceedings against them. Among other heads, this of conventicling money, due to the crown, and sunk by the justices of the peace, was one. And making account also that, in the returns and entries of the clerks of the peace, they should find them all out, they searched all those, and comparing their own payments with the books of the clerks of the peace, it appeared that very great sums were wanting, and, as they concluded, were sunk in the hands of the justices. And, in sober earnest, as to some, the very truth was so; whereby those justices became obnoxious. After they had finished their catalogue and extracts, wherein Sir Dudley North had the honour of a place for above one hundred pounds, they converted the whole to a project, and, taking in some courtiers for shares, got a grant of these monies; and then set up an office for compositions. They sent to all, that were, in their list, peccant, to come and compound, or they would be prosecuted in the Exchequer. And of divers of these sinkers, or careless justices, that had never minded their charge, they got considerable sums of money.

As for Sir Dudley North, they concluded they had him fast; and, besides the money matter, The cause brought to a hearing

against his widow, and dismissed.

they should disgrace the pretended man of honour; for he was so thorough-stitch as never to have paid in, to the clerk of the peace, one single penny of all the great sums levied by him. Accordingly they sent to him to pay so much, or he was to be prosecuted. He slightingly told them he had paid all, and had a tally. They did not believe him, nor would they search to know if he lied, or not; but put him into their bill, and charged him; but it was for a less time and sum than the tally expressed. Whether his short answer discouraged them, or other reasons swayed them, I know not; but I do not remember that he was served with any process to answer while he lived; but, after his death, they sent to his widow to come to their office, and make an end; for else she would be prosecuted. They found out his surviving brothers, and advised them, out of friendship to the widow, and to prevent farther charge and damage, to make up the business. But they defied them, and declared they would justify their brother's behaviour against all the world. So, at length, a *subpœna* came, and the lady was served. She had mustered up all her papers and accounts, and had her tally of discharge, and, by the advice of Mr. Ward (not then attorney-general) answered; and, the cause being heard whilst he was attorney-general and prosecutor, as to her, the bill was dismissed.

There was somewhat very remarkable in the prosecution of this cause; for although Sir Dudley North, in his lifetime, and, after his death, his brothers, told these agents of the payment and tally; yet they neither believed, nor searched to disprove them. They acted as if they were loth to be convinced that their stroke at his honour must fail. Ward, that, as counsel, and upon view of the tally, settled and signed the lady's answer, yet, as attorney-general, prosecuted and brought her to hearing; the consequence of which was loss of costs: for those justices that were condemned, paid to the king's costs; but those that were acquitted, had none. At the hearing, those brothers attending with the tally, and to act the part of a friend, Mr. Attorney was disturbed, and asked what they came for. One of the counsel at the bar, though not in the cause, answered, "To vindicate their brother's honour." The tally was thrown upon the table, and the barons, each one after another, spectacled it over and over, and scarce believed their own eyes. But so it was; and there this cause ended, verifying a great truth in Horace,

Some notes upon this prosecution.

——— "Murus æheneus esto,
Nil conscire sibi."

I come now to the placing Sir Dudley North in the Custom-house, as a commissioner for the management of that revenue. The Lord Rochester

Called to serve in the commission of the Customs.

was chief commissioner of the Treasury, and laboured with all his might to make the utmost advantage to the king of all the branches of his income. There was one Sir Nicholas Butler, then the most active in that commission. He was a tall and bold man, well voiced, of ready utterance, and, in his discourse, persuasive, or rather overruling. He was full of menace and terror to those that were his inferiors, and who he thought feared him; but most obsequious to superiors, and those who could oppose or control him. He was diligent, and, in acting, authoritative. He had good ruling methods, which made him, in the main, a good officer. And he had been better, but for what follows, viz. he was corrupt, and did more business clandestinely than aboveboard. He had used the commissioners like *yau*-brethren, to execute what he had by himself contrived. His dictatorship was rampant in nothing more than in the article of officers, and the placing, or displacing of them. And, however the collection leaned upon nothing more than this branch, yet he had no regard to merit, but to his creatures only; and laboured to fill the managery with such men only, as should fall down before him, and worship him. In a word, he was the most active commissioner, but a tool of the popish interest; and, as that brought him in, he courted it to continue. After the demise of King Charles II., he turned states-

man, and, together with the lord chancellor Jeffries, the Lord Sunderland, and Father Peters, managed the regulation of corporations, in order to obtain a fanatic parliament, or rather, as I believe they intended, none at all, and used those ways to make parliaments, in the air of which he knew that he and his co-operators could not live, impracticable. He was certainly a vile instrument in carrying things to such extremities as occasioned the Revolution; and one may conclude designedly, if his being let live afterwards in his house at Edmonton, obnoxious as he was, in full peace, without the least question or disturbance whatever, may be any argument. How else could he have contrived any way to have saved his bacon? The Lord Rochester, however regardless of Sir Dudley North, when formerly named to him, was now pleased to send for him, and let him know that it was his majesty's pleasure he should be in the commission of the Customs. At that time we had a guess that he was picked out by King Charles II. himself, to be placed there, as the only man likely to poise Butler, who came in by the Duke of York; and the king did not like him, but could not well displace him. Sir Dudley North was steady, clear, and resolved, and thereby fit to give check to the presumptuous ways of the other.

Having now added to his revenue a pension of

Took a great house, but in a bad situation.

one thousand pounds a year, and some presents of eatables, as Westphalia hams seized, spices from the East India Company, and the like, which came of course, he thought (as most men do that feel their fortunes rising) that he must live greater than he had done before. The rather because his lady, though affecting retirement, yet, when she did appear, loved to have a parade about her; and often childing brought christenings, which, in the city, are usually celebrated with much company and feasting. And she herself, being a Bristol lady, where excesses of that kind ordinarily prevail, was desirous not to fail of what was on such occasions expected. And he also, being a commissioner, and otherwise concerned with the court, had occasion to entertain great men; and in the house where he lived he was too strait, and wanted even the conveniences that belonged to a Turkey merchant. All which reasons, not without a *q. s.* of pride and vanity to season the mess, and not a little repented of afterwards, he parted with his house in Basinghall-street, and took that great one behind Goldsmiths' Hall, built by Sir John Bludworth. He furnished it richly, especially one state-apartment of divers rooms in file. The whole cost him at least four thousand pounds. His repentance of this piece of vanity came on the sooner because this house was situate among the goldsmiths, and other smoky trades,

that, for the convenience of the hall, are very thick planted thereabouts; and their smoke and dust filled the air, and confounded all his good furniture. He hath in person laboured hard to caulk up the windows; and all chimneys, not used, were kept close stopped. But, notwithstanding all that could be done to prevent it, the dust gathered thick upon every thing within doors; for which reason, the rooms were often let stand without any furniture at all.

How he lived there, and enjoyed his friends.

Being got into this great house, he was capable of doing all his mercantile affairs at home; and he proposed to live in exact order, and thereby be able to return civilities, and entertain his friends as became him. He made divers christening feasts, and invited divers of the nobility, and others that were his friends. He considered that he had not the skill to direct modish entertainments, which, being affected and ill performed, were as bad or worse than none. Therefore, in the person of a citizen and alderman of London, he affected the city forms, and had his long tables covered plentifully, with the officers and proclamations, as the way was at the city feasts. If these were not right, the guests must blame antiquity, and as well find fault with the shape of his gown. Ordinarily he kept a very easy and plain table; and, in evenings, made merry with his friends, who were of the first quality and employments, that often

came and supped with him. The method which we of the fraternity used among ourselves, was to spend, at least, one night in the week with Sir Dudley North, which was Thursday, and with my Lord Chief Justice North on Sundays, till he had the great seal; and then many more were added to his nights; and I, that was no housekeeper, became an *ubiquitarian* till his lordship's death; and then Sunday nights fell to my share. But, our times coming to be known, friends would often fall in to find us altogether, and, by that means, spies also had too much opportunity to frequent us. Of which kind Mr. Henry Guy, secretary to the Treasury, that frequently and familiarly came to my Lord Keeper North, was an egregious one. I once gave a slight entertainment to this Mr. Guy and his colleague Charles Duncomb, the Exchequer banker. His lordship was then alive; but only Sir Dudley North was with me. We thought these had been our good friends, as they had furiously professed; but, in truth, being creatures of my Lord Sunderland, who was then entering again at the back door of the court, they came only to spy how his lordship (their grandee) was resented amongst us. So, without any provocation, they fell to swearing what a divine man he was; such a man, &c. And this so long that Sir Dudley North, to take them down a little, asked, but very inadvertently, "how he came to be

turned out of the court before." At that, they were hush. They had what they came for, and said not a word more. But, from that time, the Lord Sunderland declared open war against the Lord Keeper North and all his dependents. So little safety there is in the conversation of courtiers. But thus we ourselves loved and lived in exquisite unanimity and harmony; which was, upon earth, too much of happiness to have long continuance.

Sir Robert Cann was chosen into the Westminster parliament in the time of King Charles II., when the anti-petitioners and abhorrers were mortified. It was found afterwards that a rebellion was then hatching; and the instruments were every where active, and particularly in Bristol, where one Row, the sword-bearer, was as busy in mischief as the best; and being accused in the Rye discovery, he took to his heels. About that time there was, in Bristol, a loyal party much superior to the faction; and Sir Robert Cann was one of them. They all had found out that this Row was a rascal; and though he was their officer, yet they held him in utter detestation. But in order to lay hold on some persons, or proceedings, in Bristol, on account of abhorring (the history of which is to be found in the Examen), the factious party caused this Row to be brought up to testify against some of his masters. Sir Robert Cann, ever passionate, violent, and hasty, was so

Sir Robert Cann sent to the Tower.

provoked at such his appearing, that, in the Parliament-house, he swore "by G—d he was a d——d rogue." For this swearing, he was sent to the Tower, where (being a little too stiff to kneel) he lay till the parliament rose. After which, he came out, and was entertained very civilly at his son's house. And then his note was altered. He could say nothing to his daughter, but commendations of her husband, and what a heavenly man she had got.

Sir Robert Cann concerned in the kidnapping at Bristol.

But now, to make an end of Sir Dudley North's engagements on account of his father-in-law; I must tell what happened in the Lord Chief Justice Jeffries's visitation at Bristol. After the rebellion of Monmouth was quelled, this chief was sent down into the West with a commission of Oyer, &c. He had also a commission of war, which empowered him to command all the forces in the West.* How matters went at that bloody assizes, there are memorials enough to show. But so armed he went to Bristol; and was there informed of an undue practice of the city justices, which was called kidnapping; a full account of which is to be found in the Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford.† It fell out that Sir Robert Cann, though he sat as justice amongst them, never had any of these criminals, or any benefit by the proceeding.

* See the *Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford*, vol. ii. p. 124.

† Vol. ii. p. 24.

But the sitting by, silent, it seems, was fault enough. He ought to have opposed and contradicted what was done; and so probably he had, if he had understood it. But Jeffries, having ranted his fill there, came up to London with his list of aldermen of Bristol to be prosecuted; and his authority, as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, made the business very terrible to all that were concerned. Sir Robert Cann was one; and expecting little less than utter ruin, he came up to solicit his friends to procure him some mitigation, and to appease the rage of the Lord Chief Justice Jeffries.

Sir Robert Cann cleared of the kidnapping; but altering his diet, died.

He came directly to his son's house; and there we consulted, and, upon the matter of singularity and non-corruption in his case, we comforted the old gentleman, that was ready to die for fear; assuring him that, in the end, he could not be convicted, because he did not expressly act. But that did not quiet his mind. Somewhat must be done to soften the Lord Jeffries towards him. Thereupon we resolved to go with him to his lordship, and make the best weather we could; which we did. And, it falling to my share to be the spokesman, I extenuated the matter as it deserved, and begged his lordship's favour and excuse, so that Sir Robert might not be prosecuted. The Lord Jeffries stared upon us, and talked a great deal of the enormity of the offence, and

what punishment it deserved for example's sake. At last he came round, and "For those two gentlemen's sakes," said he, "I pardon you for this time; but go your way, and sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto you." We conned our thanks, and came away with our Bristol knight a little better cheered. He passed about a fortnight with his daughter, continually idolizing her husband. But, although his fears of the law, or rather of my Lord Jeffries, were removed, yet his spirits were so roiled with this expedition, that he never heartily enjoyed himself after. We observed, and wondered at, the alteration of his diet. His custom was to drink sherry, morning, noon, and night; but now he took a fancy to his son's small beer, of which he drank extravagantly, and drank little or no wine; and wonderfully pleased he was with his new diet, and was much concerned he had not found it out before; for he had scarce drunk a drop in seven years. But Nature would not long bear so great a change, especially in the declining way; whereupon, soon after his return to Bristol, he died. He was neither very old, nor valetudinary; and, as he had lived in splendour and authority at home, he might have continued so for many years. But journeys, troubles, and perplexities, are not a good regimen for an old gentleman of that condition.

We must now take our way by the Custom-

house, and observe the conduct of our commissioner there. He was entirely satisfied with the employment, because all the business of it, trade, and inspection of men in their dealing, whether clear or reserved, sincere or fraudulent, and all the concerns of navigation and commerce, with the arts and subterfuges relating thereunto, were familiar to him; and all the dispositions, and methods of proceeding in great manageries, with the strict accounts that belonged to them, and the surest means to obviate frauds, were in the calendar of his day-labour, and practised accordingly for many years. So that he never was at a nonplus, but readily saw his way through the most intricate meanders of Custom-house business. He attended constantly, was just and equal to both merchants and officers. He encouraged fair traders; which was best done by sitting, as he did, hard upon the skirts of smugglers. For, if custom be paid by some, and not by others, it follows that, by their selling cheaper, the former are undone. By his adherence to this, and other approvable methods, he acquired a great authority and reputation in that province.

In the Customs just to the fair trader.

But I must observe withal,' that, together with all this, he was not free from clamour; for, however the fair merchants were satisfied, the foul ones joined in a common cry against him; and no wonder, when he was to them a rock of

Smugglers combine to accuse him.

offence, and to the revenue, a screen against their frauds. It is their constant practice to move every stone, to get rid of a good officer, whom no mists will blind, nor corruption infect. Such an one is a common nuisance; and if calumnies, lies, or any indirect means, will confound him, they have a magazine that will hold out. And, in that age, when parties raged, he being eminent on the one side, the smugglers took into the other, and talked of nothing but illegalities and oppressions, endeavouring, among the anti-court party in the city, to make him thought the veriest tyrant upon earth, and no better than a Turkish basha; and how far they went towards it, shall be touched. In the mean time it was manifest, that all those who appeared publicly to charge him, were the most notorious thieves of Custom in the whole city; and very few of the fair traders, and those upon account of factious spleen only, joined with them.

A committee to inspect the abuses in the Customs.

He was author of divers new artifices to obviate frauds, and joined willingly in others that tended to the same end, whoever proposed them. It may be expected, that I should produce some instances of these, because they were distinguishing, and would tend to the justification of his management. But, however, at the time, I was well enough possessed of divers of them, I cannot now trust my memory; nor have I access to pub-

lic memorials, or other means to recollect them; but, that they were considerable, what follows may evince. After the Revolution, when all his enemies thought themselves favourites, and had full liberty to bring forward all matters of complaint they thought would reflect upon, or any way hurt, him; the horrid abuses in the management of the Customs was one topic exaggerated, in order to fall heavy upon Sir Dudley North. And, all that while, Sir Nicholas Butler rested in peace. This went so far, as to be carried into the House of Commons; and there a committee was appointed to examine and report these abuses. A new set of commissioners, at that time, had been put into the Customs, who were raw, and, whatever they thought of themselves, knew very little of their work. These had the pre-eminence at the committee; they sat often, and made a great noise with their examinations; during which time Sir Dudley North did not come near them, nor scarce asked what they did. At last they made two great discoveries; one was, that they knew but little of the business they had taken in hand, and could scarce come up to an understanding of what the merchants discoursed about the Custom-house affairs. For that collection is so vast, multitudinous, mysterious, and, by various laws, perplexed, that, as of a profession, it requires the life of a man to be master of it. I have heard

Sir Dudley North say, that the revenue of the Customs was made up of little particulars; and that a neglect of the least thing is an immense loss. What is to be said then, if ignorance, neglect, or perhaps knavery, runs through the whole? The public feels, though it knows not, the consequence. But the other great discovery was, that all those regulations, complained of, were both legal, and reasonable to be (as by even themselves they were) continued; and by the same degrees as light, concerning those affairs, came into their eyes, they discerned the prudence of the former commissioners. And so all this bustle, which was carried on with threats, and other tokens of ill-will, to Sir Dudley North, went off without any other effect than his justification. This was the first stroke his good friends, the fanatics, after the Revolution, made at him. But others were intended, and, in their time, furiously prosecuted as far as they would go. Whereof some, however roundly contrived, dropped short; as, in the sequel, will be declared.

Of the commissioners, and his essaying at algebra.

Of all his colleagues in this commission, none acted with so much vigour as Sir Nicholas Butler. The next best of them was one Mr. Dickenson, who, as I remember, was a commissioner. Sir John Werden was so far from acting, that he did not pretend to understand what passed at that board. He often leaned to Sir Dudley North,

and said he did not oppose what was determined, but desired to be made understand it; and thereupon, in a few words, he struck him a light. The advantage Sir Dudley North had by this gentleman's company, was the learning of him a little algebra, at which he was a doctor. So, at times, when they had leisure, they two were busy at *plus* and *minus*, convolution and evolution; and Sir Dudley was extremely pleased with this new kind of arithmetic, which he had never heard of before.

Inexorable in cases of fraud.

But, in this Custom-house employ, one great concern was, to comport with Sir Nicholas Butler, whom he knew to be so well sustained, that to break with him, was to break the commission. Therefore, although far from joining in all measures with him, yet, if he brought the superior authority over the commission, they must all rest satisfied. He did all the service he might, and then thought himself absolved. It was no small difference in their several methods of proceeding, that, if Butler put in an officer (for the commissioners took that in turns), and he were found faulty, Butler supported him, and contrived, by all the ways he could, to fetch him off. But, if Sir Dudley North put in one who proved peccant, he himself was the first and fiercest to expose and drive him away. In those cases, Sir Nicholas Butler always sided for Sir Dudley North's man,

endeavouring, all he could, to bring him off, expecting (as was to be supposed) that he should make a kind return, in fetching Butler's men off. But Sir Dudley North was far from that practice; and none so fierce and inexorable as he was, even against the very men that he himself had recommended; nor would he pass by a fraud in any man. And, some pretending to him that there needed not so much ado about small matters, he said, "So much the more, because the revenue (as I said) was made up of small things swept together; and, if not strictly conserved, the whole, like sand, would slip through their fingers."

Troubled to resolve enigmas from the Treasury.

Another difficulty he had to struggle with, was to satisfy the Treasury in many perplexed inquiries, they thought fit to make, touching the income of the Customs. There was, first, my Lord Rochester, a diligent person, and dissatisfied if every thing did not succeed as he expected. Then, certain of the Treasury officers, Mr. Lownds principally, collected the totals of the branches; by which it appeared, that some failed more than others; and divers queries they made. The Lord Rochester sent for the commissioners, and as from himself, gave them those papers, requiring their answer: for, if there was not an apparent reason why this, or that, branch fell short, he must take it to have proceeded from some ill management; and, if he had not immediate an-

swers, he was apt to exceed in his expostulations with them thereupon. Sir Dudley North desired they might have time to look back, and compare years, and he doubted not but to give his lordship satisfaction. The scrutinies, to be made on these occasions, were so voluminous and intricate, that no other commissioner would attempt any thing towards them; but the whole fell to the share of Sir Dudley North. He caused all the accounts of the Custom-house, that he thought useful, to be brought to his house; and there, in a tabular way, he stated all the branches, in the several years, as far back as he thought would be needful; and, in that manner, he brought the whole state of the revenue of the Customs into a synopsis, upon the inspection of which he could argue and infer; and so he made clear answers to their queries; viz. that some were mistaken, others impertinent; some trades had found new channels; prohibitions, or high duties, affected others. If some failed, others augmented; for such concerns perpetually vary. And these answers he returned in writing to my Lord Rochester. It was thought there was some underhand dealing, to puzzle the commission, in order to have a colour to make alterations: for, if the revenue fell short, and they could not tell why, it was a sign they were ill managers; and better must be found out. But, when such an intelligence appeared from the

board, as those men were not able to cope with, (for, in truth, no man in England was a better artist, at voluminous accounts, than Sir Dudley North,) they were troubled with no more enigmas from the Treasury.

A feud at court about a revenue farm.

While he served in this post, divers emergents gave the King, Charles II., a good opinion of his great ability, as well as integrity. One was a feud at court, struck between the Lord Halifax (Savile), that was then lord privy seal, and the Lord Rochester, first commissioner of the Treasury. There was a contract made with Dashwood, and others, for a farm of the revenues of excise and hearth money. The contractors made a great advance, and were to keep books, which were to be for the king's use; because they had pretended to serve, by showing, first, that they dealt fairly; and, secondly, how the revenue might be improved. Pending this farm, the Lord Halifax had been informed that my Lord Rochester was imposed upon*, and that the farmers had an immense profit, and his majesty as great a loss. And this he declared to the king; and that the farmers ought to be exchequered; and their farm, as a deceit of the king, laid aside; and they, as

* According to Burnet, (*Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 920) Halifax accused Rochester of bribery in this transaction. See also *Reresby's Memoirs*, p. 150, and the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. ii. p. 104.

managers, to become accountants, and, having allowance for their pains and charges, the surplus to be answered to the king. The Lord Rochester fired at this; for, however the matter was worded, he took it as an imputation of corruption in him; the same as saying he had been bribed to give the farmers a pennyworth. And no resentments could be carried higher than, upon this occasion, his were. He would neither see, hear, nor endure any thing, or person, that was not clear on his side.

The farmers found to have falsified their accounts.

The farmers thought their copyhold touched; and they affirmed strong, that their bargain was hard; the Lord Rochester had overreached them; and that they had their books to demonstrate all they said to be true. But the Lord Halifax was as hot and touchy as the other lord, and continually urged the king to cause an examination to be had. And, at that time of day, his majesty could not, as formerly, afford to be cheated by wholesale. At length, the farmers were ordered to lay their books before Auditor Aldworth, who was commanded to inspect them, and give an account of the profit and loss of the farm. He answered nothing but doubts, and was very shy of saying any thing at all. Then the king commanded the books to be carried to Sir Dudley North, and that the auditor should attend him, and his majesty would hear what he said. This

was done; and Sir Dudley North observed, that when he touched upon any thing that was obscure, the auditor hummed and hawed, as if he had lost his utterance. This made him suspect some grand disguise in the accounts; and, at last, he found clearly that a whole column of figures was falsified, and that, in carrying on the books, that column was a blank, and left to be filled up, as there should be occasion; and that the writing the figures was plainly postnate, and done since the question, to cover the profit of the farm. The king was told of this, and would not believe it, till Sir Dudley North himself came; and, having the books before the king, by tokens which could not be contradicted, showed that it was so. Whereupon the king determined to dissolve the farm, and turn it into a management; and process was to go on in the Exchequer for it. But, before any great advance was made (for great persons and great things move slow), the king died, which ended all that affair.

The Lord Rochester resented this discovery.

I am not certain whether my Lord Rochester was then in the commission of the Treasury, or not; but rather think that Sidney (since Lord) Godolphin* was then first commissioner, and the Lord Rochester secretary. But that matter is not in my design; nor is it to the purpose, to any

* See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. ii. p. 58.

matter here related, to recollect. It was not believed that, in granting this farm, he was corrupt; but that he was imposed upon by the subtle farmers, who cast mists before his eyes, and, by such a fair proposal, as that of the books was, while they craftily concealed this piece of art (by a blank column) made him believe that they could not be so brazen as to prove themselves, by their own books, to have been false to him and the king, as was concluded when the immense gains, they must have thereby, appeared. But, for all that, his lordship flamed, nevertheless, as if he had been charged with all the corruption and treachery in the world; and never after heartily forgave the Lord Keeper North, who, he supposed, must say somewhat of this discovery to the king, nor Sir Dudley North; though, afterwards, in the next reign, he held fair with, and served himself of, them both, but without a grain of real friendship. It is the nature of courts to make religion of combinations; and, without regard to duty towards superiors, the words *for* and *against* only take place, and govern the extremes of rage or of friendship, ruin or favour.

Of the interdicting trade with the Turks.

There was an incident which concerned the Turkey trade, or rather trade in general, which conduced to give the king a good opinion of Sir Dudley North; and that was his conduct, in regard to the scheme of interdicting trade with the

Turks: the history of which, with the treacherous design of those that proposed it, is fully set forth in the Examen;* so I shall make short of it here, and confine myself to the part our merchant acted therein. When his own reasoning, and that of divers other merchants, against this mad proposition, was not regarded, and there was an ambassador upon the point of going out, and letters were to be wrote, it was not known but some mad thing or other might be done. To prevent all that at once, Sir Dudley North acquainted his brother, the privy counsellor, with this desperate design, and wished him to take care, in time, to prevent it.

The matter set right at court, by Sir Dudley North's means.

My Lord Keeper North was sensible of more than was obvious, even to the community of the merchants themselves; of whom many did not suspect a factious design. He went to the king, and, as from his brother, unfolded this machination against him; and the king brought it to the council; whereupon the Turkey Company were sent for, and ordered to rescind all they had done: and they went to their court, and did accordingly; as is more fully related in the Examen.† But of this passage no memorial, in our ordinary notices, remains; for it was the method of the faction, when any of their attempts miscarried, to

* *Examen*, p. 462 *et seq.* † *Examen*, p. 464.

hush them up, so that nothing of them may appear in history.

His answer in the Turkey Court.

The merchants, at this court of theirs, spent a great many words reflecting on false brethren, that discovered the orders of their court, that, till notified abroad by order of the Company, ought to be private. Sir Dudley North knew they pointed at him, and stood up, and said that, "If any man there, that owned himself an Englishman, and either would be passive and silent, while the interests of his country were going to wreck, or, being summoned to attend his majesty, not answer truly to what was demanded of him, he would reply, that man was both a fool and a knave. Therefore, if any shame came to them, they may thank their own bad orders, and let those alone who sought to prevent the ruinous effects of them." This bluster showed, that he was too big to be played upon amongst them; and so all passed away in oblivion. — A third incident, which strangely reconciled him to the king's good opinion, was his foretelling the late descent of the Turks upon Germany: but, as the particulars of it are already set down in the Examen, I shall make no mention of it here.

Placed in the commission of the Treasury.

But these, and other observations, which the king had made of Sir Dudley North's capacity for business, inclined his majesty to call him up from the Customs to the Treasury. So he was put into

that commission, with a salary of one thousand six hundred pounds a year, with the addition of what he esteemed as much as the increase of salary; which was the enlargement of his time; for now he had a great share to himself: whereas, in the Custom-house, the attendance was daily; and no school-boys ever made more account of holidays than they did. And, moreover, what with projects, estimates, pennings, and other nice employments, as orders of the Treasury, which came down to them to dispatch, not to mention the many extraordinary attendances, they could scarce call the afternoons their own. And the business itself did not lie so hard upon him as at the Custom-house; for the chief in the Treasury commonly takes all upon him; but here he was almost the only workman in the commission; for Butler could talk enough, but had no pen; and the rest, for the most part, were, as the wonderful way is, knights and squires put in for favour.

The navy an immense expense to the revenue.

Sir Dudley North had not been long enough in commission to be signalized for any thing, that could fall to his share to act in the Treasury, before the fatal demise of his majesty. He had an opportunity to show his knowledge in the marine, by informing the board touching the abuses in the management of the royal navy, and the multitu-

dinous fraud that corroded there.* It was usual for the commissioners of the navy to come to the Treasury board, and demand supplies of money to be impressed for the use of the navy. While Sir Dudley North was at the board, the navy-men came on their usual errand, and the lords thought fit to demand of them, how that money had been applied, which was impressed the last month. The commissioners of the navy answered, that they were accountable to the admiralty, and not to their lordships; and all, that they had to do at that board, was to inform when money was wanted, which their lordships might supply, or not, as they thought best for the service of his majesty and the nation. But, if the navy was not supplied, whereby the service failed, it must lie at their lordships, and not at their doors: and, in this way, they persisted. The lords were very angry with them; for, in strictness, grant them accountable to the admiralty, yet they might be so civil as to let the Treasury know how the imprests had been applied; whereby their lordships might be, in some measure, satisfied that their demands were not exorbitant; and they were told plainly they must soon expect orders from his majesty, who should be informed of their behaviour, and

* See the account of the frauds in the navy and stores, said to be taken from a MS. of the Lord Keeper Guilford. (*Dalrymple's Appendix*, p. 89.)

that it should be no more in their power to dispute the demands of the Treasury. I have heard Sir Dudley North say, that, if some potent check were not had over that managery, it would soon degenerate into an insupportable pack of confederate knaves: and that, at present, it had no bottom, nor was it easy to have any account of their conduct; for they stuck together as men in a vessel, that were to sink or swim all at once. And, if money were blindly supplied, as fast as they would call for it, the revenue of the nation would be too little to answer them; and yet no more business should be done than they should think fit. And he verily believed that, if any man had an ascendant, and power to correct them, if otherwise they could not get rid of him, they would knock his brains out.

Good designs disappointed by the king's death.

This, and divers other good works, in the way of reforming the methods of dispensing the king's revenue, had been done, if his majesty's demise had not prevented. It was not long before that dismal loss, that the king came into the Treasury chamber, to settle maintenances for his children, whom, as he told his commissioners, my Lord Shaftesbury had declared he expected to see running about the streets like link-boys. And he, having a mind to finish his new house at Winchester in a short time, thinking that air to be better for his health than Windsor was, caused

Sir Christopher Wren, the surveyor-general of his buildings, to attend, and pressed him to say how soon it might be done. He answered, "In two years." The king urged him to say if it might not possibly be done in one year. "Yes," said the surveyor-general, "but not so well, nor without great confusion, charge, and inconvenience;" and however diligent they were, he feared disappointments would happen. "Well," said the king, "if it be possible to be done in one year, I will have it so; for a year is a great deal in my life." By such passages as these, one would think men had presages of their latter end; at least by this, that his majesty had; for he lived not many weeks after. And what else should make him so solicitous for time and posterity?

King James II. proclaimed.

Then came the fatal crisis of the king's death; of which, and of the inexpressible sorrow, that appeared in all men's countenances, throughout the whole city, which was as a family that had lost a common parent, I shall say nothing here, having already related the particulars of it in the Examen.* After it was too sure, the great officers under the crown assembled, and took order for the requisites. Of which the first was to proclaim the successor (before Duke of York,

* *Examen*, p. 647, where North says that, on this occasion, "it was not obvious to observe a person walking in the street with dry eyes."

now) King of England, by the name of James II. Sir Dudley North and myself, on that occasion, having nothing to do as actors, went about, from one place to another, as spectators. When all things were ready for the proclamation, at Whitehall Gate, we went up the banqueting-house stairs, and got out upon the leads, and there, lying along upon the coping of the balusters, we heard the proclamation read, and were the first that waved our hats, and reared the cry. But whether we were so much observed below, as we fancied, I know not.

Lord Rochester, Lord Treasurer; Sir Dudley North in the Customs again.

Then came out the proclamation, that all magistrates and officers should continue in their places and functions, as formerly they held, till other provision were made. Consequently Sir Dudley North, being a commissioner of the Treasury, met with the rest for form. But they passed their time in easy discourse, and did no business; for it was little less than declared that the Treasury white staff would be, as accordingly it soon was, put into the hands of the Lord Rochester. Thereupon Sir Dudley North was dropped, and, with the dissolution of that commission, fell from all public employment. But as it was not in his nature to be idle, or to live without design, so now, being master of his time, he fell in amain upon the Turkey trade; for which his house had exquisite accommodations. He bought

up a great deal of cloth, and had rollers, and other conveniences for viewing it, put up; and very busy he was. But the court wanted such an officer, and soon put him by his trading; for my Lord Rochester, then treasurer, sent for him, and told him he must go into the commission of the Customs. He took time to advise, and deliberated with himself and his friends, whether, having been last in the Treasury, he should now go less. But, upon mature consideration, and conference with his friends, he determined not to refuse. He reputed that scruple a ceremonious vanity; that, in the Custom-house, he was at home, and the business familiar, and so far easy; and thereupon he undertook that commission once more. This instance, and that of his brother, the Lord Keeper North, have given me occasion to reflect upon the different cases of men in preferments, and how much better it is to rise upon account of merit, than by mere favour; for it gives a man full power to be just and upright. Want of merit must be supplied by flattery, compositions, or prostitution. When men are chosen, not for good to themselves, but for the good of those that choose them, they have a very good interest, as it is called, and not easily shaken.

Chosen in the Parliament for Banbury,

Sir Dudley North being again settled in the commission of the Customs, and a parliament being called by his then majesty King James II., it

and managed the revenue matters there.

was thought fit he should be chosen to sit in the House of Commons. And however, as a commissioner of the Customs, he might have been chosen at some one of the out-ports, yet, to make room for another of the king's friends, he chose to serve for the corporation of Banbury, where, on account of the young Lord Guilford's trust, he had a sure interest. And I have to observe of his behaviour, the very first session of this parliament, what is more than one would expect. For although he was bred in business abroad, and had little experience in the affairs of England, and in parliament none at all, yet he took the place of manager for the crown, in all matters of revenue stirring in the House of Commons; and what he undertook, he carried through, against all opposition, with as much assurance and dexterity as if he had been an old battered parliament-man. That a supply, or aid, be given to the crown by the Commons, at the entrance of a reign, is commonly expected. So far was agreed on by most; but it was not thought fit to overdo in giving an increase of revenue, for fear ill use might be made of it for Popish designs; which jealousy created abundance of difficulties. There were not a few that were against all supply till satisfaction about the dispensing power, and better security was given for the due execution of the test and penal laws. So that all supply whatever

went much against the grain; and all obstructions, that could be thought of, were injected to hinder it.

Proposes the duties on sugar and tobacco.

On the other side, the court made no extravagant demand, and seemed desirous that what was given, might be as light and easy to the people as was possible. Divers proposals were made, some for a land-tax, on purpose that the duty might be unpopular; some for a tax upon new buildings; and others had their projects, which they had little reason for, but only in reserve that they were like to come to nothing. Sir Dudley North took a strict account of all the commodities in trade, from the Custom-house books, and considered which would best bear a farther imposition: for if commodities are over-rated, it amounts to a prohibition. At last, he thought fit to propose a tax of one farthing upon sugars, and one halfpenny upon tobacco imported, to lie upon the English consumption only, and not upon the export; and this, as he estimated, would yield the sum expected; and would scarce be any burthen sensible to the people. In short, this tax was approved, and voted at the committee, and a bill directed, which was drawn up, and brought in*.

The great opposition that tax met with.

It came not thus far without much opposition and contention; and Sir Dudley North was forced to stand the attacks of a numerous and valuable

* See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. ii. p. 122.

party in the house; some suspecting his integrity, and others his understanding; but he stemmed them all. After the bill was brought in and read, and copies went abroad, whereby the invention was known, there was a general muster of noises and clamour, from all parts of the town, not only of merchants importers, but of consumptioners, retailers, &c. raised up against it, as if the utter ruin of all the plantations was to follow; and all trading from thence, and all dealing whatever in those commodities, were all to be confounded at one single stroke. One that lived in that, and in this age, must wonder that, in matter of taxing, the one should strain at a gnat, and the other swallow camels. The pretence of the tradesmen was, that, in the end, it would be found to fall upon the plantation trade, and to tax the export, as well as the home consumption. For although it was pretended that all goods exported, being unaltered, should take back the custom of so much, the practice would be so puzzling and troublesome at the Custom-house, that men would rather quit, than lose their time about it: and then, a rise of the commodity at home would lessen the trade, so as it would not be worth their while to deal in it; whereby the plantations must sink. And a parcel of grocers, sugar-bakers, and tobacconists, also came to my lord treasurer, and declared to him positively, that, if that bill passed,

they would trade in those goods no longer. This startled his lordship; and he ordered them to attend the next day, intending that Sir Dudley North should be present; and he was sent to accordingly.

The tradesmen confounded.

At the time there came a great muster of the tradesmen; and divers of them talked one after another, and all concluded it to be their common resolution, if that bill passed, to trade in sugars and tobacco no more. Sir Dudley North stared at them, and admired their impudence in lying so brazenly. At last, my lord treasurer said, "Sir Dudley North, what say you to this?" "My lord," said he, "I desire only to ask them a question." Then, turning to the chief of them, "Sir," said he, "if one comes to your shop to buy sugar, will you sell any?" The grocers, on a sudden, answered "Yes." "Then," said Sir Dudley North, "if you will sell, I'm sure you'll buy;" and fell a laughing. Then again he asked them, whether, if they could get money by trading, they would not trade? To which they could not tell what to say. These stabs made them look woodenly upon one another; and the ferment seemed to be laid. They did not expect the questions, and could not on the sudden qualify their answers, and so were caught. My lord treasurer was satisfied they were a parcel of party knaves that came to hinder the king's business; so the

bill, which had like to have been given up, was determined to go on.

The bill, with much ado, passed.

In the passing this bill, the work lay wholly upon Sir Dudley North, to satisfy the house, as he did, by unfolding the nature of the tax, declaring his estimates, and making the consequent practice at the Custom-house understood. And at the committee, when the bill was gone over, paragraph by paragraph, he sat by the table, with the draught and a pen in his hand, dictating amendments in numerous instances; and divers of the old members were diverted by seeing a fresh man, and half foreigner, act his part in parliament so well. And his schemes being well judged, and built upon truths well known to him, he maintaining his character, as to candour and sincerity, to a scruple, he had confidence, and stood buff against all the reflections made at him; and, at times, refelled them. And, as he passed to and fro, he was spoke to, and heard others speaking, in a clamorous way, as if they were not satisfied of his allegations. This made him in public, as well as private discourse, make his defiance against any that should show, by the Custom-house books, which any one might inspect, or otherwise, that he had prevaricated in any punctilio, or misrepresented any facts to the house. So, through much contention and opposition, the bill passed.

Having mentioned the difficulties that were pretended necessarily to have fallen out, in the execution of this act, by a drawback upon the export, I shall here remember what happened as to that. The commissioners met to consult in what method they should dispose their accounts, so as to have them ready at all times, in order to adjust the sums to be paid at shipping off any of those goods. The comptroller of the accounts was at a loss. But Mr. Dickenson, at that time a commissioner, and thought to understand the practice of the Custom-house as well as any that belonged to it, proposed a sort of post-book to be kept, in which the merchants should have their accounts; and all the duty of goods imported, should stand in their debt (for the act gave time for payment) and the duty of goods exported, to their credit; so it would be readily known what the merchant owed, or was due to him. But Sir Dudley North was utterly against this method; because, for want of order of time in entering, and leisure in posting, errors would slip so fast that they would soon be in utter confusion. Whereupon he proposed to keep the account by way of Dr. and Cr., entering every parcel in the day; and then, having nothing else in their heads, post the items to their proper accounts; and so they would not be in any hurry, but also have a balance to check the whole. But the commissioners gene-

Advises the method of account, which, after trial, was used.

rally liked Mr. Dickenson's way best; and so it went. But, after some time passed, the commissioners calling for the drawback books, the clerks brought a fair journal and ledger, as Sir Dudley North had proposed; and, being asked why they made that alteration, they answered that experience showed them the other way would not do. For they had no check, nor government of the account; and writing postwise at the same time as the dispatch was made, in the very first week they were so confounded with mistakes, that they were forced to write all over again, and go on in this method. So apt are some works to do themselves; for the practice soon demonstrates the easier methods, and directs how to retrench pains and establish compendiums. And, in this matter, Sir Dudley North showed a temper in not making an opposition, and troubling the Treasury about their methods of account, because he thought his own way better than theirs; but let them make the experiment, verily thinking they must come to his way at last.

Utterly against the coinage bill.

There was a law passed, or rather was continued, this parliament, called the coinage. This was a certain tax laid to pay for coining money; whereby any man, who brought into the mint bullion, took out coined money, reduced to sterling, weight for weight. Sir Dudley North was infinitely scandalized at the folly of this law, which

made bullion and coined money par; so that any man might gain by melting; as when the price of bullion riseth, a crown shall melt into five shillings and sixpence; but, on the other side, nothing could ever be lost by coining; for, upon a glut of bullion, he might get that way too, and, upon a scarcity, melt again; and no kind of advantage, by increase of money, as was pretended, like to come out. The lord treasurer gave some of the banker goldsmiths, and Sir Dudley North, a meeting. Charles Duncomb, a great advancer, had whispered somewhat in his lordship's ear, that made him inclinable to the bill. Sir Dudley North reasoned with them against it beyond reply; and then the argument was, "Let there be money, my lord, by G—d let there be money." The reasons why this scheme prevailed, were, first, that the crown got by the coinage duty; next, that the goldsmiths, who gained by the melting trade, were advancers to the Treasury, and favourites. The country gentlemen are commonly full of one profound mistake; which is, that, if a great deal of money be made, they must, of course, have a share of it; such being the supposed consequence of what they call plenty of money. So little do assemblies of men follow the truth of things in their deliberations; but shallow, unthought prejudices carry them away by shoals. In short, the bill passed; and the effects of it have been enough

seen and felt; however the evil hath been since, in some sort, but not wholly, remedied.

Scandalized at clipped money, and the reason.

Another thing which gave him great offence, was the currency of clipped money. He looked upon coined money, as merchandize, only (for better proof and convenience) used as a scale, having its supposed weight signed upon it, to weigh all other things by; or, as a denomination apt for accounts. But, if the weight of it differed from its stamp, it was, not a scale, but a cheat, like a piece of goods with a content stampt, and divers yards cut off. And as to the fancy that common currency might reconcile the matter, he thought that, when a man takes a thing called a shilling, putting it off, it is also called a shilling nominally true; but, as to the deficiency, it is no other than a token, or leather money, of no intrinsic, by what name soever it be called; and that all markets will be regulated accordingly; for, as money is debased, prices rise, and so it all comes to a reckoning. This was seen by guineas, which, in the currency of clipped money, rose to be worth thirty (clipped) shillings. Sir Dudley North was resolved, that, if ever he sat in another sessions of parliament, he would bid battle to this public illusion. And, being full of the subject, he eased his mind by laying down his reasons upon paper; and the fancy took him to do it in the form of a speech in the House of Commons; though if he had had

twenty speeches beforehand, he could not have rehearsed one of them as they were penned, but must, as his use was, fall directly upon the point, *ex re natâ*, and as the reason of things and the quality of the debate prompted. He could improve his notions by thinking; but he could not confine himself to any premeditated composure.

Intended to push these regulations, and published a pamphlet of them.

He knew indeed that he stood alone; and, except some, and not many, of his fellow merchants, scarce any person appeared to join with him. Corruption, self-interest, and authority, he knew were winds that would blow in his face; but yet he believed his reasons were no less impetuous, and that he should be able to impress them; and that, being once understood, the business would make its own way. But the parliament, in which he served, was dissolved; and he came no more within that pale. But afterwards, finding that the grievance of clipped money became insupportable, and with design that, since he could not, some other persons might push for a regulation, as well of this as of some other grievances relating to trade in general, and to incite them to it, he put his sense in the form of a pamphlet, and, sitting the convention (or some time after it was turned into a parliament) in 1691, published it, printed for J. Basset, and entitled "Discourses upon Trade, principally directed to the cases of

Interest, Coinage, Clipping, and Encrease of Money."*

* To this work Mr. M'Culloch has referred in his "*Discourse on the Science of Political Economy.*" (p. 37.)

"Sir Josiah Child, whose work, though it is founded on the principles of the mercantile system, contains many sound and liberal views, Sir William Petty, and Sir Dudley North, are the most distinguished of the economical writers of the 17th century. The latter not only rose above the established prejudices of his time, but had sagacity enough to detect the more refined and less obvious errors that were newly coming into fashion. His tract, entitled '*Discourses on Trade, principally directed to the cases of Interest, Coinage, Clipping, and Encrease of Money,*' published in 1691, contains a much more able statement of the true principles of commerce than any that had then appeared. He is, throughout, the intelligent advocate of all the great principles of commercial freedom. He is not, like the most eminent of his predecessors, well informed on one subject, and erroneous on another. His system is consistent and complete. He shows that, in commercial matters, nations have the same interest as individuals; and forcibly exposes the absurdity of supposing that any trade which is advantageous to the merchant, can be injurious to the public. His opinions respecting the imposition of a seignorage on the coinage of money, and the expediency of sumptuary laws, then in great favour, are equally enlightened.

"I shall subjoin, from the preface of this tract, an abstract of the general propositions maintained in it.

"That the whole world, as to trade, is but one nation or people, and therein nations are as persons.

"That the loss of a trade with one nation is not that only, separately considered, but so much of the trade of the world rescinded and lost, for all is combined together.

This came out long before the attempt in parliament to have all the money new coined; for

The money reformed the worst way.

"That there can be no trade unprofitable to the public; for if any prove so, men leave it off: and, wherever the traders thrive, the public of which they are a part thrive also.

"That to force men to deal in any prescribed manner, may profit such as happen to serve them, but the public gains not, because it is taking from one subject to give to another.

"That no laws can set prices in trade, the rates of which must, and will, make themselves. But when such laws do happen to lay any hold, it is so much impediment to trade, and therefore prejudicial.

"That money is a merchandize, whereof there may be a glut, as well as a scarcity, and that even to an inconvenience.

"That a people cannot want money to serve the ordinary dealing, and more than enough they will not have.

"That no man will be the richer for the making much money, nor any part of it, but as he buys it for an equivalent price.

"That the free coinage is a perpetual motion found out, whereby to melt and coin without ceasing, and so to feed goldsmiths and coiners at the public charge.

"That debasing the coin is defrauding one another, and to the public there is no sort of advantage from it; for that admits no character, or value, but intrinsic.

"That the sinking by alloy or weight is all one.

"That exchange and ready money are the same; nothing but carriage and re-carriage being saved.

"That money exported in trade is an increase to the wealth of the nation; but spent in war, and payments abroad, is so much impoverishment.

"In short, that all favours to one trade or interest is an abuse, and cuts off so much profit from the public."

"Unluckily

which an act passed, since put in execution. But of the two ways, exposed by Sir Dudley North, the fabricators of that bill chose the worst; for they threw the loss of the clipped money upon the public by a tax, and gave six months time for folks to bring in what was clipped. This six months time, as he prophesied, was doubtless well employed, but not for the making the old money wider. If there was one before, there were ten after, that clipped heartily; knowing that, however they clipped the coin, they should have whole money at the mints for it.

The better way had done the same thing with more honour.

I well remember what a fame attended the accomplishment of this work (ill done as it was), and as done, without more, deservedly; for better and worse, in the means, is not to be reflected on, when a great good is obtained in the end. And, not to derogate any honour from the authors, what is true may be remembered, which is, that money went to foreign markets, and would not (as at home) pass by a stamp, or denomination, but must be weighty; and, whatever good to the people was intended, yet the foreign occasion

"Unluckily this admirable tract never obtained any considerable circulation. There is good reason, indeed, for supposing that it was designedly suppressed. At all events it speedily became excessively scarce; and I am not aware that it has ever been referred to by any subsequent writer on commerce."

made it necessary. And as for the undertaking, there were no mountains to be got over, as, at other times, had been, when nothing would have made the people start and boggle like touching their money; for, here, those that were to receive, demanded, and had power to sustain it. For this reason, the honour had been much greater, if it had been carried by strength of reason, upon new discoveries, against the strongest of prejudices, and interest mistaken, as Sir Dudley North intended to have done. And whether any use of his pamphlet was made, or not, (as I guess there was, because one of the ways he proposed, was taken, and divers mints planted about, as he intended to have insinuated): it is certain the pamphlet is, and hath been ever since, utterly sunk, and a copy not to be had for money. And if it was designedly done, it was very prudent; for the proceeding is so much reflected on there for the worse, and a better showed, though not so favourable to abuses, as doth not consist with that honour and *eclat*, as hath been held forth upon the occasion.

Scandalized at the laws for the poor.

Sir Dudley North was much scandalized at the laws made in England for the poor, under which monies were collected, all over England, by parish rates, for their maintenance; and he had also formed a design for the disclosing his mind in the House of Commons, concerning that constitu-

tion, by * collecting materials in writing (as he had done before, but more formally, touching clipped money), which he should have used in a debate, if the house had fallen upon any thing relating to it. But the dissolution came in the way, and spoiled all. And discourses upon such subjects used to be frequent in the conversation between these brothers, where the general good of England was as seriously and sincerely deliberated, as in the parliament-house itself. Whatever may be thought, I am sure I do not hyperbolize in this; since it was in my good stars to be an eye and ear witness of what I affirm.

Loss of Lord Keeper North; Sir Dudley undertakes the trust.

But now we must come to the greatest blow that could have befel Sir Dudley North; and that was the sickness and death of his best brother the Lord Keeper. A full account of which is to be found in that noble person's life. His lordship had made his three brothers executors and guardians. Sir Dudley North took upon him to act with all the vigour and diligence of a faithful and good trustee. In the first place he gave orders for the funeral, and then took coach, and went with the great seal (the officers all attending) to

[* The substance of these papers, together with some farther considerations relating to the laws for the poor, and the consequences of them, are set down in the form of a pamphlet by the honourable author of this work, and may see the light if opportunity should offer.] *Note in the First Edit.*

Windsor, and there put it into the king's hands, who, not long after, delivered it to the Lord Jeffries. Then he returned to Wroxton, dispatched the funeral, put the family in a method, and returned to London. The children, that fell under his care, were the Lord Guilford, who was at Winchester school, where he was continued; the two youngers were also well placed, and so continued during Sir Dudley's life.

Fell close to the business of his trusts, to which he dedicated a room.

But, besides this guardianship, upon the death of the Lord Keeper North, there devolved upon him an immense charge by the executorship and trust of the three children's fortunes. The younger brother, Charles, had but two thousand pounds given him; the sister had four thousand pounds. But, to have done with these; at the full ages, the guardians put into the hands of the one four thousand pounds, and of the other six thousand pounds, besides all the charges of their education; which was not a common guardian's account. As for the capital of the Lord Guilford's estate, it consisted of the estates which had belonged to the family of the Popes, some that his lordship had purchased in Essex, and, in money, about thirty-two thousand pounds to be laid out in land. Sir Dudley North, in the first place, set the house in order, making inventories, disposing and registering, so as, afterwards, a ready recourse might be had to any thing that was left. He ad-

justed the steward's accounts, and left his orders. He dispatched the furniture of the great house in London, which the successor, the Lord Jeffries, did not think fit to take; and some he sent down, and sold some, and some, with the writings, &c. he transferred to his own house; and there he dedicated a room peculiarly to this trust, and suffered no other affairs to come into it. And he gave a good reason for so doing; for if a man has several manageries upon his hands, and the books and papers of them lie together, confusion is apt to grow, not only among them, but in his head, which will not readily run from the one to the other. But if they lie in several rooms, the former is avoided; and, upon the very entrance into the room, the walls, and mere form of things lying about, bring the business into one's mind, and make an artificial train of thinking: and whoever deals in great matters, will find the benefit of this economy.

Account mercantilely kept and rendered.

He procured a set of books, such as merchants use, and in them he kept the account of this trust, in a mercantile way, completely. He had his waste, journal, and ledger; and into these books came the sums from the steward's account; interest money, and all the outgoings were entered, and proper accounts, in them, were framed, to keep the several interests distinct; so that, at all times, the books were an account renderable of

every branch, and every person's interest that could be required. At the young lord's full age, the books themselves, in which stood every farthing accountable in proper place, were exhibited for a render of his accounts. But this form not being so obvious as the Exchequer way, all charge together, and all discharge together, the young lord desired of the surviving guardians, that he might have such an account made in that manner. He was told that it was mere pains and writing; and a man of arts in accounts must be employed to do it, and be paid for it. He thereupon set his auditor to work, who, upon view of the books, showed him his credits, his debts, in all his concerns, and told him he might be satisfied, for nothing better could be done. This method, I presume, hath not been usual with executors and guardians, since (as the poet hath it) "the ghosts of testators left walking."

Applied to purchasing of estates.

In the conduct of this trust he had little trouble; for he accounted his pains none. Trouble is when there is want of peace and quietness in the pains-taking: else, the obtaining the good end sought, answers all the labour that tends directly to procure it. Sir Dudley North thought it best to buy land with the money as soon as he could. I remember he had a fierce dispute with his testator, in his lifetime, upon that very point. He advised his lordship to lay out his money in land as

fast as he could. "I will not buy land," said the other, "unless I can find good estates and penny-worths." Sir Dudley urged that he was in a great mistake; for if his money was laid out in his life-time, he would have the assistance of all those, and not a few, who desired of all things to serve and oblige him; and, what was much more, the benefit of his own knowledge and skill, as well in the law as in other respects. And if land must be bought, it would certainly be worse done than if he did it himself; for all those advantages would be wanting to any trustees he could make. He was convinced of it; but men in great places, who are courted with offers of services, cannot but think they may compass such matters upon better terms than other men. For there being abroad many good pennyworths, they conclude that, for respect or officiousness, some will be brought to them. It is certain the error was proved in his case; for, though good purchases were made, he, in his lifetime, would have made better. It was one of Sir Dudley North's maxims, which may be ordinary to hear observed among merchants, "When a thing is fit to be done, do it as well as the time allows." As, if it be reasonable for a merchant to sell, or to buy, do it at the current. Because the loss and inconvenience, by not doing, is much greater than the circumstances of price or value, between one time and another.

But now we must be serious, and mount towards the court, and the transactions thereabouts, which I shall touch upon so far as concerns my subject. After the king had most unadvisedly and precipitously dissolved his parliament, and had promoted Jeffries to the great seal; and the Lord Keeper North, a mortal obstacle, out of the way; what should hinder the great seal from sending forth commissions, not only of war, but of peace and lieutenancy, with *non obstantes* in the body of them, against the test laws? And so it was; persons unqualified came into all commissions. And what general discontents this made, if not remembered, may easily be conceived. The next work was to make fair weather with a new parliament; and, in order thereunto, to get members chosen that would comply, and take those troublesome tests out of the way. The English side of this famous managery (for what foreigners were concerned, or how, I know not) was the famous triumvirate; the Lord Chancellor Jeffries, the Lord Sunderland (who they say, as a poor penitent, knocked at the mass chapel door, and was reconciled), and Sir Nicholas Butler. The methods these took, were partly local, and partly personal. 1. The local part was to be executed by regulating, or rather corrupting, corporations, that had right of election, by putting, out and in, mayors, recorders, burgesses, &c.; and where they

Of *non obstantes* and regulations.

were stiff, by coming upon them with *quo warrantos*, and the terror of charges. Those that would surrender, and renew *ad normam curiæ*, had peace. And, for this end, they had runners up and down, who were called regulators; and the committee of the aforesaid counsellors were called the committee of regulations. As to the counties, those were too big to be thus tampered with, and were left to the second scheme.

The manner of closeting, and Sir Dudley North's concern in it.

2. Persons. I shall pass by the office, required of the lord lieutenants, to catechise the gentry all over England touching their good-will to this project, supposing all the country commissions would be regulated accordingly; and come directly to court; where it was ordered that, in each ministration, the chief should catechise the underlings, to know who were willing to repeal, and who not, supposing that a general reform would go accordingly. But it was not so; but done to the intent that the consenters, by engagements to his majesty in person, might be riveted, and so to be depended upon in parliament. Upon this wise scheme, my lord chancellor undertook the province of the law, and sent for, not only the king's servants, but every considerable practiser. My Lord Godolphin, as head of the Treasury, sent for all the revenue men, and took their answers. Sir Dudley North, as a commissioner of the Customs, came in upon this list. When he came before his lordship, and had

heard the questions, and a world of discourse in a persuasive way, he remembered an old Turkish saying, viz. "that a man is to say 'no,' only to the devil." He answered, therefore, "that he was always a faithful subject and servant to his majesty, and would do all he could for his majesty's service:" or to that effect. This was taken for a violent tendency, if not a concession. But, coming before the king, and being asked if he would vote so and so, or not; he answered, positively and finally, "that he could not, and therefore would not, pretend to tell what he should do upon any question proposed in parliament, if he had the honour to sit there, till he had heard the debate." But this was clothed in terms of the greatest submission that could be. He was asked the same more than once. But, in sum, his answer was the same. He was told "that this was trifling; for he could not pretend to be a stranger to a matter which had been the town-talk so long. He might depend upon it that nothing new could be alleged in the house, which he had not heard before." To all which, urged upon him over and over again, he added nothing but that, "If he were to die that moment, he would make no other answer." The noble lord there, was strangely surprised and confounded at this perseverance in a denial, as was understood; for he had, as I guess, valued himself for securing Sir Dudley

North. The king showed no tokens of his displeasure; nor did he in any case when the persons appeared respectful, and he thought them sincere. But his lordship resented it sufficiently; for he never was well with him, nor ever showed him a fair countenance after that*.

Sir Dudley North threatened in Holland.

I must touch also the circumstances of the following times†, because my subject is concerned in them; however, I shall be but short. The preparations for the embarkment in Holland, were very great; and after it was known to be for England, a great bustle was made to resist it. Those that had fled into Holland were rampant, and were so free as fully to declare their equitable purposes. For they gave out that all the Tory party, meaning those who had acted by law against the fanatics, should at once be attainted, and their estates taken away by parliament. Nor should those of the dead be exempted any more than those of the living; and they were so kind as to name the late Lord Keeper North, and Sir Dudley North, in particular. This was told to Sir Dudley North, as certain news out of Holland, by such as meant him well; but he, as his way was to slight extravagant threats, minded it not. But it appeared to him, afterwards, that

* See some account of these transactions in the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. ii. p. 124, and the note there.

† See Appendix, No. II.

those who had fled into Holland had retained so much of their Rye scheme, as really to intend, and it was not for want of will that they did not execute it. But after the king's army was quite broke, and his person far enough off, things did not proceed with so much contention as to make a turn by victory, but rather by accommodation. And King William, having secured his own game, would not roil it to gratify them.

Like from Exeter, and tempted to run away.

But now the prince is landed, and come as far as Exeter; and from thence Sir Dudley North had letters with preambles of friendship, and conclusions with advice to run away; and grounded on the terrible denunciations passed among the men of power there. Many matters were alleged; but chiefly that of taking upon him the office of sheriff without title; which caused so much blood to be drawn. But he was so stupid as to laugh at this also. It is to be presumed they used the same course with others: for now there began to be great scampering; and, of some, with reason enough, who were obnoxious, and had more to answer for than could be excused; chiefly such as had risen into posts by flattery upon the points of the tests; as Baron Jenner, Bishop Cartwright*,

* Of this profligate churchman, Burnet has left the following character. "He was a man of good capacity, and had made some progress in learning. He was ambitious and servile, cruel and boisterous; and by the great liberties he allowed

Chief Justice Herbert, and some others. The two solicitors, Graham and Burton*, were taken and brought back; and much ado there was about who went and who staid. The faction was thought to be cruel and fierce, and, coming into a swing of uncontrolled power, none could say what mischief they would not do. But they themselves, knowing that there was nothing criminal to charge upon those they had most spleen against, endeavoured, by menace and frighting, to make them run away; and many that did so, were taken, and felt the smart of it; but, of those that stayed, even the greatest malefactors had little or no hurt. The former suffered under a presumption of guilt, by imprisonment without trial, or so much as being accused. So that, here, flight and condemnation were one and the same thing. And there is not a single instance of any one person tried for any of the horrid crimes that brought on the Revolution.

himself he fell under much scandal of the worst sort. He had set himself long to raise the king's authority above law; which he said was only a method of government to which kings might submit if they pleased, but their authority was from God absolute, and superior to law, which they might exert as often as they found it necessary for the ends of government." (*Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 1186.)

* "Fitter men to have served in a court of Inquisition than in a legal government." (*Burnet's Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 878.)

At this time, Sir Dudley North and myself were seldom asunder, but walked about from one bustle to another, to observe what was doing; and were in all public places, to see how matters wrought. For he, according to his true character, so long as he could justify his actions, feared nothing, and scarce thought he had any concern in the turn more than any other man had. This was a foul disappointment to his enemies; for they made a sure account that he, a ringleader of the Tory party, must needs run away, and then they had him fast, in prison at least. Once we walked together into the Exchange; and one, that stood in a company, said, "What! is not he gone yet?" We passed on, and took no notice. He was looked at almost as much as when he was named sheriff; and the wonder that he was not gone, was as great as when he was to be sheriff: and it was in his good stars that he secured to himself a safety, by staring his enemies in the face.

Safe by his upright carriage and behaviour.

He was in the Customs at the Revolution, and continued so for some time after; for that collection was not to be disturbed till the main was safe. But it was not long before the men of merit put in for posts, whether fit or not; and the Customs was a jolly commission, that would serve five or six of them; and if one or two old ones were left to teach the new ones their trade,

Left out of the new commission of the Customs.

it was enough. And, after the commission was renewed, and most of the old ones, of whom he was one, were left out, Sir John Werden, that would often ask for a light to be struck (as I touched before), became the ruling commissioner.

Traded, sustained great losses, and thought of retiring.

After he was left out of the commission, he was reduced to his first principles, a mere merchant of the Levant Company in London; and his post of alderman also dropped from him: for, when the judgment in the *quo warranto* was set aside by the parliament, the city was put in a state referring to a time before he was chosen; which changed the whole frame of the court of aldermen. Then, hating idleness, he fell again to buying of cloth. He had formerly joined with other merchants in building three defensible ships; for piracies, in the Straits, had made trading, in small vessels, too hazardous; and the employment of these ships engaged him deeper in adventure than otherwise he had been. But, after the Revolution, things grew worse and worse; because the wars with the French gave them an advantage over our Turkey trade; and, both at home and abroad, they met with us. One of his great ships, with a considerable adventure, homeward bound, and little insured, was taken by the French: but yet he traded on; and, it appeared, his estate was less, by ten thousand pounds, than it was when the French war first broke out. I

believe he had less persevered in trade, at that time, if he had not had a consideration of his house in Constantinople, where his brother had a ragion, and he had his apprentice, Fairclough, to whom he thought himself in justice bound to send out business, especially when others withdrew; else they must have sunk. But so many corrections, as he received, one after another, abated his mettle; and his family increasing, and children coming forward, whom he considered beyond himself; and, what was worst of all, he grew liable to infirmities, especially the phthisic, which made him not so active in his person as he had been, and desired to be. All which together made him think of getting an estate, with a commodious seat, in the country, and to employ himself, as he declared he would do, by ploughing and sowing amain. But, in this particular, his good fortunes failed him; for, although he had viewed divers great estates, and offered great prices, as twenty-four and twenty-five years purchase, he never was accepted; and, within a day or two after he fell sick, a time was appointed for us to go down and agree for Besthorp in Norfolk. If he had been so happy as to have accomplished a purchase some time before, I believe it had prolonged his life.

Parliament inquire into the former proceedings.

But I shall be accused for a concealer, if I do not relate how the houses of parliament dealt

with him, and his shrievalty, before he had his *quietus* in that affair. After the convention, summoned by the prince's letters, thought fit to be a parliament, and the kingdom settled, and declared to be of him and his consort Mary, and all things thought to stand fast and firm in the new government; then the old faction thought they had the ball at their toe, the town was their own, and who should contradict them? And now was the time to lay open the bad actions of the Tories, and, not only to bring them to condign punishment, but also to make amends for former injuries out of the estates of the dead and of the living of them; and all to be done, not by any formal, fastidious course of law or trial, but by act of parliament. And, accordingly, two inquisitions were set on foot; as is already related in the Examen. It is pretty apparent that, in the factious scheme, both these aimed at Sir Dudley North, upon whose character and circumstances the matter had hinged; though Sir John Moor, and others, were thought fit to be taken in.

Examined before the committee of Lords, and dismissed.

I shall begin with the Lords, who, taking it for granted that those persons were murdered, ordered this inquiry how, and by what means. This amounted to an inquiry, whether they were murdered or not; and so, in the proceeding, it proved. But it is a common thing in parliament to inquire after persons, when the facts are but

presumed. This committee sat, and sent for all persons that were any ways concerned in the proceedings after the Rye plot discovered, or were but suspected to know any thing of them; and examined them, and whomsoever else they thought fit to send for, upon oath. Amongst the rest Sir Dudley North was sent for; of whose examination I have little to say here, because it is particularly related in the Examen:* only, to show how much he was under the displeasure of some people, I will observe that, when questions were asked, as divers were, skirting upon the main, and he answered fully and clearly to them; while he was talking, (on one side of him) "That 's a lie," said one, and (on another side) "That 's false," said another; and such interruptions he had that, if he had been over-modest, he must have been abashed. But, after this one examination, he was dismissed, and heard no more from that committee.

Examined before the House of Commons.

After the House of Commons had done with Sir John Moor, they sent for Sir Dudley North; and, I believe, some sport was expected, for the galleries were full, and so were all corners about the house. I had my post in the gallery, where I

* P. 620. The examination of Sir Dudley North is given from the Lords' Journals in *Howell's State Trials*, vol. ix. p. 969.

could see as well as hear: and the famous Titus Oates was not far off; for he was a person that greatly interested himself in these affairs. Mr. Paul Foley was in the chair; and, when Sir Dudley North came in and stood upon the floor, "Sir," said he, "for what reason did you take upon you the office of sheriff, which did not belong to you?" He answered in like manner as before. But there was little to the purpose in all this; for the design of all these examinations was to get persons named, that there might be some hold of them for purposes that lay behind.

Difference about questions to be asked.

None durst ask him touching his brother the Lord Keeper North; for the gentlemen, generally, would not have borne it. But yet the business hung upon expectation to get something out of him; and there were divers mutterings, and murmurings, about odd questions to be asked; and some, near the chair, were very busy, whispering with the chairman. Mr. Francis Guin, one that the examinant knew to be of his side, and that he might trust him, moved that, since he had declared the court of aldermen unanimously required him to serve, as being legally chosen, he might be asked what aldermen were present. The chairman nodded for his answer; and then Sir Dudley North turned him round, and, with his cane, pointed to the five aldermen that had sided with the faction, and named them audibly one after another, who

were all present, and made no objection. This was not well; and Sir W. Williams, a cunning parliament-man, fearing worse, thought to get rid of their customer with as good a colour as might be contrived; and, taking umbrage at some little stir there was about asking questions to make him accuse his own self (and Sir Dudley North himself had begun to say, "he hoped that, being among gentlemen," &c.) standing up, "Mr. Foley," said he, "you had best have a care, you have an honourable gentleman before you, that you do not ask him," &c. It seems he thought the going off upon that scruple carried an *innuendo* which might serve their turn better than any thing they were like to get by questions, since those, already asked, had turned upon them. But those, of his party, did not understand his reach, and, calling out for questions, interrupted him; and that irritated his Welsh blood, and made him fall foul on his own party; and there was noise and altercation for some time, upon that occasion, amongst them.

A question asked, and loudly answered, made an end.

But, there being some cessation, Mr. Dutton Colt made silence by speaking: "Mr. Foley," said he, "since this gentleman is so tender that he must not be asked questions concerning himself, we will let that go, and presume him guilty of all that has been alleged against him. But I hope I may ask him a question concerning somebody else."

At this, Sir Dudley North, knowing the man, and expecting he would have named his brother the Lord Keeper, began to warm, and his blood to mend its pace: and, had that been perceived, any one that knew him, would have expected something extraordinary to follow. Then Mr. Colt went on, and, "I ask him," said he, "if Secretary Jenkins did not come down to the city, and persuade him to take the office of sheriff upon him?" "You hear the question," said the chairman. After which there was a profound silence, expecting the answer. All which time Sir Dudley North was gathering as much breath as he could muster, and, then, out came a long "No-o-o-o!" so loud as might have been heard up to the House of Lords. This was so violent, and unexpected, that I could see a start of every one in the house, all at the same instant, as if each had had a dash of cold water in his face; and, immediately, all called out, "Withdraw;" and my neighbour Titus Oates, being, as I suppose, frustrated of his expectations, cried out, "Aw Laard, aw Laard, aw, aw!" and went his way.* Sir Dudley North went out, and never was called upon more about this affair. I might here enlarge upon the subject of good fortune attending gallant actions and behaviour, and the perdition of evil-doing, and then sneaking;

* See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. ii. p. 60.

but that matter lies here gross and obvious, so will let that pass. I shall only add this note, to acquit the prosecutors of acting purely upon malice, that covetousness had the greatest share in the motives; for, if it had been voted that the election had been illegal, and North and Rich no sheriffs; then had followed bills to charge the estates of all that were concerned, to repair the losses the party suffered in those times. And this was, nevertheless, in some degree, attempted by petitioning for leave to bring a bill into the House of Lords to reimburse the fines out of the estates of the Lord Keeper North, Sir Dudley North; &c. This petition was presented by the Lord Stamford, who had been chairman to the committee of murder. And he, among other tropes, said that "these men had been murdered too," meaning in their estates; but, he stuttering, these words came out so broken, that they were not minded: but my Lord Weymouth went to the table, and, taking up the petition, moved that "an inquiry might be had, to find who had counterfeited these dead men's hands." This jest made some lords smile, and no order was made upon that petition. The like petition was presented to the House of Commons, and without effect; but as the whole series of this affair is fully set forth in the Examen, I refer the reader to that book, and shall say nothing more of it here.

A snare laid to make him lose his friends.

But after this examination was over, it was given out that Sir Dudley North should not escape so; but, one way or other, he should certainly be come at: and it was hoped that, if he was substantially terrified, he might bite at the bait of taking some of his enemies off. Which done, were it friendly or corruptly, they would have promulgated it, and he had lost his character, and, consequently, his friends, which was a good preparation for what was to follow: for it is a method used by cunning men, in parliament driving, against persons, when they cannot be directly laid hold on, to lay traps and snares to make them hurt themselves; and so they attain the end obliquely. We had the unhappiness of an elder brother, who had attached himself to the faction; and, for that reason, and other family differences, we corresponded little with him. But during these stirs, for aught I know meaning well, but deceived by men of his party, he comes to me, and tells me that "his brother would certainly be undone; and himself came out of friendship that he might know it. He conversed with those who were bent upon it, and both would, and could do it; and those were Hampden, and some others he named. But he had found one, and the only way to save him." "And what is that?" quoth I. He answered, "To apply himself." I asked what he meant by

"applying himself." He answered, "by going to some principal men on the other side, and so interest, or soften them; without which he was infallibly ruined. I said I believed he intended to justify himself, and thought of no other course. "Ay, there 's it," said he, "he will now go, and, by justifying himself, be ruined." So we parted with much dissatisfaction on his part. It is certain nothing would have ruined him sooner, than such a sneaking action as this had been. I once told this story to the best of old courtiers, Colonel Werden; and "Ay," said he, "justifying, that 's but one trick;" alluding to the fable of the Fox and the Cat.

Justification of the former times.

I cannot part with the subject of this examination without observing again, as I have done before, what sycophant historians will not be so just as to set forth, nor posterity readily believe. And that is, that, notwithstanding both houses of parliament, with full bent and zeal towards a party, having nothing above to check or restrain, but what rather encouraged them to inquisite the actions of their adversaries in the time when they prevailed; and testing, upon oath, every person and persons, officers as well as others, as far as any petulant partyman would suggest or require; and although the affairs were all great and important, and done in a strain of opposition and contention, pursuant to current methods of law, yet

there was not found the least corruption, or peccadillo of irregularity in any of them: and, if any instance of the like can be shown in history, I quit my observation.

A mistake of some members about the time of his being in the Customs, and their design if it had proved otherwise.

This double inquest, of the houses in parliament, respecting the sheriffwick of London, and the pretences in parliament grounded thereupon, gave Sir Dudley North much trouble, but no great anxiety; because he knew there was no foundation, on such accounts, to charge him criminally, or pecuniarily, to which he had not answers incontrovertible. But there was another matter, which, proving as his enemies had calculated and suggested, had given them the utmost advantage against him; but, by good stars, they were mistaken. It was the levying the duties of tonnage and poundage upon the accession of King James II. before it was given by a parliament; a full account of which is to be found in the Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford.* The members at Westminster, that were eager upon finding faults with former administrations, and the factious party, that had a stronger inclination to fasten upon Sir Dudley North than upon any other minister or agent whatsoever, had conceived a strong prejudice that he was in the Customs at the death of King Charles II., and accordingly that (for the

* See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. ii. p. 110.

grand offence of levying money upon the subject without act of parliament) they had him fast; and they were so fond of the advantage, that it was plain they were very loth to quit it: and it was the hardest thing in the world to persuade any of them that Sir Dudley North was then in the Treasury, and not in the Customs, which I can best affirm, that had the part of talking with, and, if I could, of undeceiving, many of them; for I found plainly I was not credited. The tendency of the party, as might be perceived by the common discourse of most people, was to set on foot an inquiry touching that fact of levying money, &c. And Sir Dudley North, and his friends, had perpetual alarms from that quarter, till direct accounts of those commissions made it plain it could not reach him; and then the whole design was dropped at once, and no notice taken of it: and it was as good as declared, that, if he had been concerned, it would have been pushed against him only, and not against any other commissioner of the Customs. Such partiality will men profess in combination; which a single person would not have the face to own.

Refused to aid a brother-in-law against duty.

Before I take this gentleman into pure privacy, and show how he passed his time by himself, I shall take notice of some passages, relating to his employment, to show with what prudence and untainted integrity he proceeded. He had a bro-

ther-in-law, who made no small figure at court, the Earl of Yarmouth. He was entitled to a farm in the Customs, called the wood farm, which, when first granted, was a very great boon; but, as the importation of deals and timber from the northward increased, it became an immense profit, and was said to have yielded to that family, first and last, above one hundred thousand pounds. The present benefit was partly to the old countess, and partly to the earl, with a trust declared upon it to pay the debts of the family. The work now was to obtain a renewal of that farm; the old lady solicited, and the earl solicited; Sir Nicholas Butler was declared in their interests; and, now Sir Dudley North was come into the Customs, all must go smooth. And Sir Nicholas Butler was so malicious as to tell them, that it was in Sir Dudley North's power to do it, or to hinder it. This brought importúnity enough upon him. It was not his way to fly in any one's face unprovoked, or to give repulses till he had fairly reasoned with them; and then, if the concerned urged him farther, he was apt to be rough. He had examined the books of the Custom-house, and found, by former reports and minutes of the Treasury, that, for unanswerable reasons, all the outfarms were resolved to be taken in, and that the order and security of the collection depended upon it; for to have officers dealing in the Customs, that

the commissioners had no control upon, was like so many leaks, at which they could not answer what might run out. He showed all this to his brother-in-law, and discoursed Butler upon it; and he could not deny but that it was a thing determined, which they could not controvert, if any references came to them; and that it was in vain to attempt by favour to break into such a management as this was. "But still," says Butler to his clients, "if Sir Dudley will, it may be done." And, at last, the best thing he could do was, when they said any thing of it, not to mind them, but to pass on to other discourse. If there were any profit, or advantage to the crown, the forms might have been dispensed with; but, against the interest of the crown, he would not join in any project whatsoever.

Changed the secretary against importunity.

There was an ancient gentleman, of the family of the Berties, who was patent secretary to the Customs; and he had officiated there some time; but was altogether incapable of the business, which required the most expert secretary that could be found, who should be a man of method, quickness of dispatch, that, in looking for one paper called for, should not, as he did, confound a hundred. But if he had sat there, they must have been secretaries themselves; for it was plain he could do nothing. Upon this, the commissioners determined to put another in his place, that should pay

him as much as he made of it; and, if this would not do, some other course must be taken, or they must shut up shop. This brought the whole family relation upon the commission, expostulating with them, and stirring their interest at court. But their reasons were understood there; they must have patience; and what the commissioners had done must stand. Among others, Sir Dudley North's eldest brother came to him, and, after much importunity, asked what reason he had to turn a relation out of his place. Sir Dudley North turned short, and looking back at him, said, "Because he was a fool." And so went away.

Refused a brother-in-law a postponed debt.

He had another brother-in-law, one Mr. Foley, whose father had been ironmonger to the navy for divers years, and, after his death, he succeeded him. The method of the navy had been loose, and, during the Dutch wars, great abuses passed, and debts insuperable were contracted. I have heard say that the former contractor has had bills filed up, as for goods delivered at the yards, to the value of five hundred pounds, and did not deliver in one nail.* This debt growing too great, possibly, ever to be paid, the Treasury, in the reign of King Charles II. thought fit to postpone this debt,

* The same charge is made against Mr. Foley in the Lord Keeper Guilford's "Account of divers signal Frauds in the Conduct and Disposition of the Public Revenues." (*Dalrymple, Appendix*, p. 89.)

and serve the then present occasion with ready money. There was no great justice in this; but what they called necessity came in the room of it: all that reign, and King James's reign, that debt stood desperate. But when Sir Dudley North came into the Treasury, Mr. Foley concluded he should obtain the favour to have his part, and often made it a subject of discourse to his brother-in-law; but he told him, unless they could pay the whole, they could not pay him. For to single out one, and, for favour, pay him, and let the rest still stand out unpaid, would be unjust, and scandalously partial. And this solicitation ran up almost into a quarrel; but that signified little to the commissioner. But since the Revolution, I have heard the debt was bought by courtiers for half, and less, and put into the new loans by way of debentures, and paid with interest to a farthing.

Reduced to a private state, and diverted with mechanics.

But now we have our merchant, sheriff, alderman, commissioner, &c. at home with us, a private person, divested of all his mantlings; and we may converse freely with him in his family, and by himself, without clashing at all against any concern of the public. And possibly, in this capacity, I may show the best side of his character; and, for the advantage of that design, shall here recount his retired ways of entertaining himself from his first coming from Constantinople to England. He delighted much in natural observa-

tions, and what tended to explain mechanic powers; and particularly that wherein his own concern lay, beams and scales, the place of the centres, the form of the centre-pins, what share the fulcrum, and what the force, or the weight, bore with respect to each other; and that he might not be deceived, had made proofs by himself of all the forms of scales that he could imagine could be put in practice for deceiving.

Spoiled a project of sealing beams.

During the first sessions of parliament in the reign of King James II., he spoiled a hopeful project with a few words; which project some courtiers had hammered, for profitable purposes, to the public, no doubt, to be passed into a law. And that was to have an office for the proving and sealing of all beams and scales. This had been like the aulnage, that sell seals by the bushel; an office of mere profit, which succeeds in the nature of a tax upon the woollen manufactory. When he was told of it, he assured the concerned, that no man, that bought, or sold, would trust a beam the more for their seal; because a slight fall puts the best beam out of order. And, for fear of such accidents, men weigh cross; which certainly exposes false scales; and merchants, though they buy abroad, weigh again at home; and there could be no assurance of scales without proof. So that project dropped.

I may, with conformity, mention here a detestation he had of all projects. Liberty and justice being his favourite patrons of trade. Once he was tempted by a great lord, his brother-in-law, then in an advanced post at court, to come into a copper mine in America; which was held forth to be wonderful gainful, and nothing wanting to enter and take possession, but a little stock, which was proposed to be raised by selling of shares; and Sir Humphrey Edwin was the cashier, took the money, and gave out the grants. "But is it so rich a thing as your lordship says?" said Sir Dudley. "Ay, i' God, is it," said the lord, "and will certainly yield cent. per cent. immediately, and, afterwards, not to be computed." Then Sir Dudley fell a laughing, and said, "If it would yield five per cent. in one six months, there could be no want of money, for such a gain that hundreds would skip at; and if it were really worth any thing to a buyer, they would never come out of the city to the courtiers for money." The same nobleman had bought a sough, or drain, to a lead mine in the country near Wales, which was begun by one Vermuyden, but laid aside, alack, for want of a little money, but might be finished in three months, of which there was demonstration; and there would be an Indies. The merchant was for giving his lordship nine months. No, the lord would not take it; three was enough. The

Detested all projects, and derided divers of them.

merchant begged him to take nine, and it was pleasant to observe the controversy. But he might as safely have offered him nine years; for it is not done yet. And, for all that, the sough hath had the honour to be often sold, and to die, with the South Sea, a bubble at last. I have often, on these occasions, heard Sir Dudley North say, "*Fuggite gli gran partiti*, Run away from great bargains." So I doubt he would have made but an indifferent South Sea merchant.*

An experiment, made at Constantinople and in England, of the Barometer.

When he lived at Constantinople, I sent him a hint, touching the barometer, of an experiment which might expose, even to a direct view, the manner how the air wrought upon the mercury, to raise or sink it, not without some discovery of the consequences with respect to wet and dry. He tried it at Constantinople; and, after he came

* Had we not witnessed, in our own times, the avidity with which the public rush into the wildest speculations, we might almost have doubted the possibility of such extensive and ruinous delusions. At the period referred to in the text, as in our own days, nothing appears to have been too ridiculous to meet with encouragement, under the name of a "Company." Thus a company was established, "For importing a number of large jackasses from Spain, in order to propagate a larger kind of mules in England." For the accommodation of these distinguished foreigners, certain marsh lands near Woolwich were contracted for. A clergyman was at the head of this bubble. Another of these ingenious devices was "A Subscription for an undertaking which shall in due time be revealed."

into England, we tried it together. It was no more but this. We erected a barometer, with the stagnum, in a Florence flask, and then, with wet bladders, and ligatures upon the neck of the flask, and upon the tube, we stopped all communication between the exterior air, and that shut up in the flask. Then we cooled the flask artificially, and the mercury sank at least six inches below its place; and at the same time we perceived a mist to gather on the inside of the flask, till the drops began to be sensible, and some ran down, and showed water at the bottom. Then we heated the glass with warm water, till we came to the most furious boiling water we could bring upon it. And the mercury immediately mounted, and rose, at least, six inches higher than its station; and all the mist and water dried up, and there was fair weather within. Then we pricked the bladder, and the mercury fell to its proper station. I do not comment upon this experiment here, it being more proper in another design.

Loved sights, and feared lest he should be turned out.

When he came first to England, all things were new to him; and he had an infinite pleasure in going about to see the considerable places, and buildings, about town. I, like an old dame with a young damsel, by conducting him, had the pleasure of seeing them over again myself. And an incomparable pleasure it was; for, at all re-

markables, he had ingenious turns of wit and morality, as well as natural observations. But once I was very well pleased to see the power of habit, even in his mind, and apprehension of things. I carried him to Bridewell, where, in the hemp-house, there was a fair lady, well habited, at a block. We got in and surveyed her: but the cur, that let us in at the door, put on his touchy airs, expecting his sop at our going out, and spoke hoarse and loud. My gentleman could not, for his life, but be afraid of that fellow, and was not easy when we went in, nor while we stayed; for he confessed himself that the rascal was so like a Turkish chiaus, he could not bear him, and wondered at me for making so slight of him and his authority, and really fancied we should not get clear of him without some mischief or other. Such was indeed a necessary prudence at Constantinople: and not only in this, but in the cases of other merchants, who had lived in Turkey, I have observed that if there were a crowd, or a clutter in the street, to which most people go to see what is the matter, they always draw off for fear of being singled out to be beaten. In a cathedral church, I could scarce get my merchant to take a place with me; but he would pull, and correct me, as being too forward, and for fear of some inconvenience. Here is a consequence of living under absolute and rigorous lords.

Whereas, amongst us, there is scarce any regard at all had to superior powers; if I may term them such, that cannot punish but in mood and figure, and by due course of law.

Saw the Monument and Bow Steeple, and ventured high.

He took pleasure in surveying the Monument, and comparing it with mosque towers, and what, of that kind, he had seen abroad. We mounted up to the top, and, one after another, crept up the hollow iron frame that carries the copper head and flames above. We went out at a rising plate of iron that hinged, and there found convenient irons to hold by. We made use of them, and raised our bodies entirely above the flames, having only our legs, to the knees, within; and there we stood till we were satisfied with the prospects from thence. I cannot describe how hard it was to persuade ourselves we stood safe; so likely did our weight seem to throw down the whole fabric. But the adventure at Bow Church was more extraordinary. For, being come to the upper row of columns, next under the dragon, I could go round between the columns and the newel; but his corpulence would not permit him to do that: wherefore he took the column in his arm, and swung his body about on the outside; and so he did quite round. Fancy, that in such a case would have destroyed many, had little power over his reason, that told him there was no difficulty nor danger in what he did.

He was so great a lover of building, that St. Paul's, then well advanced, was his ordinary walk: there was scarce a course of stones laid, while we lived together, over which we did not walk. And he would always climb to the uppermost heights. Much time have we spent there in talking of the work, engines, tackle, &c. He showed me the power of friction in engines; for, when a capstan was at work, he did but gripe the ropes, between the weight and the fulcrum, in his hand, and all was fast; and double the number of men, at the capstan, could not have prevailed against that impediment, to have raised the stone, till he let go. We usually went there on Saturdays, which were Sir Christopher Wren's days, who was the surveyor; and we commonly got a snatch of discourse with him, who, like a true philosopher, was always obliging and communicative, and, in every matter we inquired about, gave short, but satisfactory answers. When we were upon Bow Steeple, the merchant had a speculation not unlike that of a ship, in the bay of Smyrna, seen from the mountains. Here the streets appeared like small trenches, in which the coaches glided along without any unevenness as we could observe. "Now this," said he, "is like the world. Who would not be pleased in passing so equably from place to place? It is so when we look upon great men, who, in their courses, at our distance,

seem to glide no less smoothly on; and we do not perceive the many rude jolts, tossings, and wallowings they feel; as whoever rides in that coach feels enough to make his bones ache, of which, to our notice, there is no discovery. And farther," said he, "let not the difficulties, that will occur in the way of most transactions, however reasonable, deter men from going on; for here is a coach not one moment free from one obstruction or other; and yet it goes on, and arrives, at last, as was designed at first." He used to observe the ordinary decays of building, and where strength was most needed. He took notice that compass arches did not press uniformly; for, at the key, or crown, the joints at the upper sweep, or outside, pinched hard, and gaped underneath; and contrarily, at the shoulders, those underneath pinched, and those above gaped; and for that the material, as rubbed brick, usually crushed there; and that the pinching below tends to rising. Wherefore, to secure a compass arch, it was necessary by weight, or some other means, to keep down the shoulders, which, rising, let the crown, or key, fall in. This sort of decay he observed in the great oval arches over the gates of the merchants' houses in Mincing-lane; and how, by the example of them, at Powis House in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, they shouldered and keyed the portico arches with pieces of stone, because brick was not

strong enough to bear the crush of such weights as lay upon it.

Reasoned why divers buildings failed.

He observed, that the great arches at the floor of St. Paul's, after the centres were struck, fell in twice; and he was much puzzled to find out the reason of it; which he did, and then fancied the builders themselves did not know it, till after the second fall had showed it them. It seems such things were not to be talked of there, and no subject of discourse with the workmen. The middle vault was cast in three, as a middle and side aisles; and the moulds were parabolic; so as the narrow aisles, on each side, keyed as high as the middle. Then it was apparent that the thrust of the middle arch bore upon the voids of the two sides; and those, yielding but a little, let the middle break from its truth; and then, down they must come. But, not only at St. Paul's, but at many other places he had the like diversion; for wherever there was a parcel of building going on, he went to survey it; and particularly the high buildings in Arlington-street, which were scarce covered in before all the windows were wry-mouthed, the fascias turned SS, and divers stacks of chimnies sunk right down, drawing roof and floors with them; and his point was to find out from whence all this decay proceeded. We had conversed so much with new houses that we were almost turned rope-dancers, and walked as familiarly upon joists in garrets, having a view, through

all the floors, down to the cellar, as if it had been plain ground.

His desire to build, and practice in surveying.

He had a great inclination to build a house for himself; and, to accommodate his designing capacity, he bought a plain table, and a set of mathematical instruments; and, however he might miss his aims, the charge was not lost, for he left posterity behind him who have made better use of them than he ever would have done. But he drew, and I drew, and much altercation we had. But he never was blessed with ground in town or country, to let him into the pleasure of that exercise. He had a mighty fancy for that convenience, which he had made for himself in Turkey, called an *odgera*, or fire-tight room; with a stately adorned counting-house over it, to be done with all solid brick and stone; so that, the doors secured (which were to be of iron) there could come no damage by fire to any thing in them. He was so kind as to come to view, and afterwards to pass a little time in the small tenement I bought; and our whole time was passed in surveying and projecting. The country people thought us conjurers, pretending to survey a ground by views at two stations, without measuring a side, or any part, but from one station to another. So, at his brother's, the Lord Keeper North's, at Wroxton, our time was spent much at the same rate.*

* See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. ii. p. 137.

These were, not only innocent, but active and healthful diversions, and (when spending the time is the chief point) the most commendable of any.

A good husband, and lived reasonably.

His domestic methods were always reasonable; but, towards his lady, superlatively obliging. He was absent from her as little as he could, and that was being abroad; but, at home, they were seldom asunder. When he had his great house, a little room, near his chamber, which they called a dressing-room, was sequestered for the accommodation of both of them. She had her implements, and he his books of account, in large escritoires there; and, having fixed a table and a desk, all his counting-house business was done there. The counting-house itself was below, where was accommodation for a man (but he took none, on account of merchandize, after he had sent Fairclough to Constantinople) and also a room, within, for the master; and his brother, when in England, which was not long after his settlement there, used that. He kept a servant that wrote, and found him employment by copying, &c. Once he took a schoolmaster, of Bodicoat, near Banbury, to be his butler (that was the style of his office), and coming once into the counting-house, he found an astrological scheme lying before this man. He took it, and "What is this for?" said he. The fellow answered, "To know if he should prosper in his place." "I 'll tell you," said his

master, tearing the paper to pieces, "if you behave yourself diligently and well, you will prosper; otherwise you will not." The fellow was cured of his astrology, and made a very good servant; and, being preferred to the Customs at Bristol, a very good officer.

Private pastime, and diligent care of his children.

Here he reckoned with tradesmen, and paid and received what came into his own cash; but he used the room above to wilder in his accounts; and his wife used to wonder how it could be that he should have so much to do there. Once (as I hinted) the Custom-house accounts were brought there; and he went to work with them, for making collections by which he might clearly solve the enigmas, that came from the Treasury. He wallowed so much in those, and with so much application, that his wife was afraid he would have run mad. There also he read such books as pleased him; and (though he was a kind of a dunce at school) in his manhood he recovered so much Latin as to make him take pleasure in the best classics; especially in Tully's philosophics, which I recommended to him. If time lay on his hands, he would assist his lady in her affairs. I have come there and found him very busy in picking out the stitches of a dislaced petticoat. But his tenderness to his children was very uncommon, for he would often sit by, while they were dressing and undressing, and would be assist-

ing himself if they were at any time sick, or out of order. Once his eldest son, when about five years old, had a chillblain, which an ignorant apothecary had converted into a wound; and it was surgeon's work for near six months; and the poor child relapsed into arms again till it was cured. But, after the methods were instituted, the father would dress it himself.

His way of supplying the house with vinegar.

In that great house he had much more room than his family required. He had seldom any company, except his lady's relations, and those not long. He used his spare rooms for operations and natural experiments; and one operation was a very useful one, and that was a fabric for vinegar. He managed that in three vessels. The first had the fruit, or whatever was the ground; this was always foul. From hence he took into the next vessel, where it refined; and, out of that, he drew into a third, and, from thence, took for use. The first was continually supplied with raisin stalks, warm water, &c. In this manner, after the course was begun, the house was supplied, with little or no charge, for several years.

Loved travelling. His summer residence.

He loved travelling, but hated a coach, because it made him a prisoner, and hindered his looking about to survey the country, in which he took a great pleasure; and, for that reason, he loved a horse. I had a grave pad that fitted him, and he always desired the use of that sage animal, that

was very sure and easy, but slow. While his wife's mother, the Lady Cann, lived at Bristol, he made annually a visit to her; and, when I had the honour to serve as recorder there, I accompanied him. We joined equipages, and sometimes returned across the country to Wroxton, the residence of the late Lord Guilford. We had the care of affairs there, as trustees for the young Lord Guilford, who was sent abroad to travel; and we thought it no disservice to our trust to reside upon the spot some time in summer; which we did, and had therein our own convenience, and charged ourselves in the accounts to the full value of ourselves, and the diet for our horses. But, our way of living there being somewhat extraordinary, I think it reasonable to give an account of it. In the first place, the lady had a standing quarrel with us; for we had such a constant employ, that she could have none of her husband's company; and when she came to call him to dinner, she found him as black as a tinker.

Manual exercises.

There was an old building, which was formerly Hawk's mews. There we instituted a laboratory. One apartment was for wood-works, and the other for iron. His business was hewing and framing, and, being permitted to sit, he would labour very hard; and, in that manner, he hewed the frames for our necessary tables. He put them together

only with laps and pins; but so, as served the occasion very well. We got up a table and a bench: but the great difficulty was to get bellows and a forge. He hewed such stone as lay about, and built a hearth with a back, and, by means of water, and an old iron which he knocked right down, he perforated that stone for the wind to come at the fire. What common tools we wanted, we sent and bought, and also a leather skin, with which he made a pair of bellows that wrought over head, and the wind was conveyed by elder guns let into one another, and so it got to the fire. Upon finding a piece of an old anvil, we went to work, and wrought all the iron that was used in our manufactory. He delighted most in hewing. He allowed me, being a lawyer, as he said, to be the best forger. We followed the trade so constantly and close, and he coming out sometimes with a red short waistcoat, red cap, and black face, the country people began to talk as if we used some unlawful trades there, clipping at least; and, it might be, coining of money. Upon this, we were forced to call in the blacksmith, and some of the neighbours, that it might be known there was neither damage nor danger to the state by our operations. This was morning's work, before dressing; to which duty we were usually summoned by the lady full of admiration what creatures she had in her family.

In the afternoons too we had employment which was somewhat more refined; and that was turning and planing; for which use we sequestered a low closet. We had our engines from London, and many round implements were made. I contrived a way-wiser, and we both wrought upon it hard till it came to perfection, and was fixed upon a calash we used. The compass of the hinder wheel of it was about sixteen feet and a half, which is a statute rod, and the diameter five feet and a half, the ordinary width of cart-wheels; which, tripled, comes near to that length. In this instrument there were three wheels, and those had indexes. The first went about in thirty-two rod; the second in a mile, three hundred and twenty; and the third in ten miles, three thousand two hundred; which was fine enough, to be done all in wood. But, whilst we were in high diversion, an unfortunate accident happened; which was this.

Mr. Mountagu North, a prisoner in France.

Sir Dudley North's brother, and partner, Mr. Mountagu North, designed to go back to Constantinople. He went by way of France, and made a small stop at Paris, intending to embark for the Levant at Marseilles. At that time an ambassador was going out from France to Turkey; and, it seems, his curiosity went too far; for he made interest to see the presents, and talked with more intelligence of Turkey than ordinary. This

made the French nation take umbrage, and stop his journey at Marseilles, and send him to the castle at Toulon, where he lay three years and a half, with an immense loss in his affairs. But it made him amends in his health; for, living so long in an excellent air with an exquisite diet, full, but temperate, from a very crazy, he became a very athletic and sound gentleman. The news of this misfortune came to us at Wroxton; and immediately Sir Dudley North, who was a most kind relation, and particularly to this, for reasons hinted before, equipped for a journey to take what care he could of him. I went with him, and never knew so melancholy a time in London; for it was deep vacation, very few of our acquaintance in town; and Sir Dudley North and I spent most of our time like two spectres, walking about from one person or place to another. We got what recommendations we could from persons we thought had credit in King James's court, there, to assure his voyage was for trade, and not politics; and were assured we had all that interest for his freedom. But that would not do; and we could not otherwise apply to the French court, it being a jealous time of war. All we could do of that sort, was to get a *fede* of the merchants, signed by public notaries. We had one drawn to signify to all to whom, &c. of our case; and speaking to the merchants on the Exchange, every

one, we spoke to, went and signed it. This was sent, but without effect; for with the French, as with all politicians, jealousies, with or without a reason, for purposes of caution, are taken as certainties. So, this expedition proving fruitless, we returned to our post in the country again.

Mechanic exercises pursued.

And there Sir Theophilus Gimcrack, as Sir Dudley was pleased to style our way-wiser, the wooden knight, was a call to go abroad in the chaise, with a design to prove the distances of places; and it was no small entertainment to observe the unaccountable variety of vulgar estimates. But, in our laboratories, it was not a little strange to see with what earnestness and pains we worked, sweating most immoderately, and scarce allowing ourselves time to eat. At the lighter works, in the afternoon, he hath sat, perhaps, scraping a stick, or turning a piece of wood, and this for many afternoons together, all the while singing like a cobler, incomparably better pleased than he had been in all the stages of his life before. And it is a mortifying speculation, that of the different characters of this man's enjoyments, separated one from the other, and exposed to an indifferent choice, there is scarce any one, but this I have here described, really worth taking up. And yet the slavery of our nature is such, that this must be despised, and all the rest, with the attendant evils of vexa-

tion, disappointments, dangers, loss of health, disgraces, envy, and what not of torment, be admitted. It was well said of the philosopher to Pyrrhus: "What follows after all your victories? To sit down and make merry. And cannot you do so now?"

Liked no employment that did not admit of sitting.

Sir Dudley North made very little difference how he spent his time, provided he was doing, and might sit; for, being corpulent, the old weakness of his knees made him not stand long at his ease. When first he came over, I kept a sailing-yacht upon the Thames; and the first time we took him aboard, he claps himself down upon the seat by the helm, and, taking the whip-staff in his hand, "By G—," said he, "I'll be admiral;" and there he sat, and steered, with all the delight imaginable. And no entertainment pleased him better than this; because he sat all the while; and, besides acting and conduct, which to him was always relishing, he could look about and talk; which was bringing into his time as much of what he loved as was possible. Wherever he was, he was apt to clap him down upon any seat, and say, "*Jo mi lamo Don Sentare*," alluding to the Spanish judge, who took all, and said, "*Jo mi lamo Don Tomare.*" And he did not take pleasure in any thing that did not admit sitting.

Accidentally met with a cunning principal.

I have but one passage, or two, to relate, before I make a full close; and that is this: I re-

member, when he first came over, he told us a merry story of one Mr. Young, a Turkey merchant, who had laid a trap for him, which he escaped. He was one of their principals, and had in their warehouse a parcel of rotten unsaleable goods, which he desired should be sold, but not at a ruin price. He thereupon wrote a letter to his factors to sell the goods, but conceived in terms so ambiguous, that they feared the letter was not a clear warrant for their making such a bargain as he might call bad, and, for that cause, wrote him word that they were willing to accomplish his desires, but feared no sale could be made without great loss. This letter came to the merchant; and he, concluding his factors had sold, wrote a quarrelling letter, affirming the goods were sound, and, if they had sold under the market, they must make it good to him. When this letter came, the merchants were preparing a dispatch positive for clearer orders: but, upon this reprehension, instead of that, he sent to his principal an answer at large, and very particular to every point, as that, whereas he said the goods were sound, they answered they were rotten, and, to prove it, the goods were in the warehouse; and the like conclusion to every article; which very much disappointed Mr. Young, and cleared the merchants.

Ill used by the Turkey Company.

I have heard him complain of the ill usage he had from the Turkey Company, whom he had

served with indefatigable pains, and with not a little skill and dexterity, and hoped for some handsome acknowledgments, in an honorary way at least, from them. But, instead of that, he had, given him by their secretary, articles of exception to his accounts. One of them was, that he had put a tariff upon the Company; which is an arbitrated rate, as of course, without regard to what expenses he had been at. The case was, he, foreseeing what the Company would want for presents, bought them beforehand, with his own money, and not theirs, as he had opportunity, cheap; and, when the time came, he sold them to the Company at the price then current; by which he had then a merchant's adventure, and a merchant's profit; which was a reasonable advantage of his employ. He answered this matter, and concluded that he did not put a tariff upon the Company; and so to all the other articles, as the truth was. After which answer, he heard no more: but, if they had gone farther, he was resolved to have stood suit with them, and so to have exposed them. But he conceived that they, being really and truly in his debt, affected a quarrel to cover the ill usage intended him. This made him sometimes say, that whoever served a community, and did not secure his reward, would meet with quarrels, in the room of thanks, for all the good he did them.

He never was named in a law-suit, but one: for what passed in the Exchequer for conventicle-money, as was related, I account none. This suit was a hearing before the Lord Keeper North, to have a trust interpreted; he, in right of his wife, being concerned to gain, if it went one way. I remember my Lord Keeper said, he wondered, when he saw his brother go across the court, what chancery-suit he was fallen into; for he had never so much as touched upon it in discourse. It will scarce be believed what rigid decorums, of that kind, were maintained between those brothers; but, I know, they were observed in utmost strictness. The Lord Keeper decreed against his brother; and then they were free to talk. Sir Dudley North's aunt, the Lady Dacres, used to complain of her nephew the Lord Keeper North, saying that, to get himself credit, he decreed against her. "Madam," said Sir Dudley North, "he decreed also against me, that had a cause, so and so." "Ay, indeed," said she, "even so he serves all his relations." "But, Madam," said he, "my adversary showed against me so and so." "Nay then," said she, "by my troth I think my nephew served you but right." "Pray, Madam," said he, "tell me what your adversary showed against you." That confounded her so, that she said no more.

Concerned in but one law-suit.

Escaped a bad wound, and the manner.

I have observed that Sir Dudley North loved a chirping glass in an evening, but hated drunkenness; and I do not remember I have seen him more than flustered, as they call it, and not above twice or thrice, from his first coming over to his death. Once he suffered hard for being, if he was, so; for, coming out of the Wonder tavern, by Ludgate, where he had been with the citizens then called Tories, he stepped short of his coach, and raked his shin against the edge, which fetched off the skin. At home, according as formerly in like case he had done, he put wet brown paper to it; and when it festered, and run through that, he put another, and so till he had a case, of four or five thick, hard baked upon his shin; and then it swelled much, and grew painful; and a surgeon was sent for, and a doctor likewise, to watch the surgeon. At pulling off the papers, they shook their heads, which was a symptom he did not like. He was put under strict rule of diet and disposition of himself, which he strictly observed; and, when it was expected the wound should heal, it stood at a stay. The lord keeper, desiring to understand the case, fell to studying surgery; and, having got Wiseman's Book of Martyrs, as it was called, he read there, that if a wound was digested and clean, and come to carnification, the spare diet (which was to prevent a fever) must be laid aside, and one more liberal allowed. His lordship thereupon

prescribed good meals, and not without a glass of wine; and then the breach filled up in a little time. He had another case of surgery happened in his family; which was a coachman wounded in the leg, by an accident, in the stable. He was then sheriff, and wanted his servant; and the case was such, that a surgeon must be sent for, and used to prevent extremity. It was so done, and, in a week, the surgeon set him upon his seat again. His bill was demanded, which came to three pounds; "That," said the master, "is too much for no more attendance." The surgeon answered, "that he considered his worship's occasion to use his servant; and, therefore, set him up in a week; else, that cure would have held a month at least."

The worst of him and his morals.

I must say, in the general, that, after Sir Dudley North came and settled in England, no person whatever lived more untainted with vice, of any kind, and more conformable to order, becoming a layman full of affairs, than he did; which makes me substract from what I did but suppose might have been beyond sea, and take things in the best sense. I must own that, when he was very angry, (which always happened upon his clashing with detected knaves, and very seldom otherwise,) he was apt to let go a rapper or two. He was a most patient hearer; but, being once informed, and having given his rule, if people stood out in the wrong, and justified falsities, he would be

intemperate in his talk, to a very great degree; which was commonly censured, as being too much. And here I have deposed all the evil, in the worst colours, I ever knew of the man.

His constitution and temperature, and how cured of a griping.

It remains now to give an account of Sir Dudley North's constitution, and temper of body; and that, as happened, will not admit of much commendation: for, at his first coming over, he carried himself with a sort of braveur against cold, and used an airy garb; but was shrewdly corrected for it. I have observed of most Englishmen, that have lived in hot countries, that, let them take all the care they can, they will be seasoned at home with bad colds; and Sir Dudley North's was so bad, that it left him phthisical; and that sat upon his lungs so that he could not, at any time after that, bear a swift or violent motion. Afterwards he had a tolerable health, but never looked upon himself to be long-lived; and, indeed, was not much solicitous about it. Once he had an attack of a distemper in his bowels, which was like a girdle, that circled him round. It did not appear outwardly at all. He took brandies and clysters, and was hacked about the streets, and all means were applied that could be thought on to ease his griping, and renew the peristaltic motion which seemed to cease within him, and not without danger of inverting. At last he said he would take my medicine. He had observed that when

I was indisposed, I swallowed a great deal of water-gruel, and scarce ever left drinking till I got well again: so water-gruel was made, and he drank tankard after tankard (for I had often said that it was the quantity, which, being of a nature cooling, might be trusted, like a long pole put down to crowd away obstructions), and he left not off, but, more or less, drank almost continually, till his bowels were so full, that his lady feared some rupture. But, at length, he was surprised with a discharge, up and down, all at the same instant, not as a work of nature, by vomit or stool, but as the effect of a compression, even against the force of nature resisting it. Such an explosion of all that was within him, happening in that manner, was a crisis, the doctors said, they had never known before. But it cured him all at once; and he never had any like complaint as long as he lived after.

Came to live with his brother Roger, in Covent Garden.

He had removed from his great house in the city, and came to that in the piazza, which Sir Peter Lely formerly used, and I had lived in alone for divers years. We were so much together, and my incumbrances so small, that so large a house might well hold us both. I believe he found that he wanted air every day more than other, and was determined to buy a country seat, to enter upon in the spring, cost what it would.

Journey to Bristol; at his return, got a malignant cold.

When the long vacation came, we went down to Wroxton, as our late use was, and, towards Michaelmas, we parted; he towards Bristol, to see his relations there, and I towards Norfolk, taking Attleborough in my way; from whence, at his desire, I saw Besthorp, and recommended it to him. I returned to London, and was there before him. After he was come up, his lady said that she observed him very heavy all that autumnal season, and, in the journey to London, had no heart nor spirits to mind things, as formerly he had done. He had not been long in town, before his winter enemy, a cold, attacked him. He, being phthisical, never shifted well with a cold; but it was his resolved way, to carry his evils about with him, which he could not shake off; and so, with immane coughing and striving, he used to get well again. Now, he worked upon his books, and went abroad but seldom without me; and, the last time he was at the Exchange, I observed an unusual deadness in his countenance; and he did not cough so much as usual, but wanted breath; and very often, as one tired, went and sat him down upon the benches.

His last sickness and behaviour.

After we had dined, he eating and drinking very little, and being very dull, I went my way, and left him, not dreaming his case was so bad as it really was; for we had adjusted, two days after, to go down and agree for Besthorp; and

the best of our discourse, some days before, was of the good air and diversion we should have in that journey, and what good neighbours we should be to each other in the country. And woe had been to me, if we had gone, and he had been taken ill in the journey. At night, according to custom, I came home, and found him in bed, and his lady sitting silent and sorrowful in the room, with Mr. St. Amand, the apothecary. This was a strange scene: but, it seems, in the afternoon, his breath had almost left him, and he grew fiery hot with a fever, and not able to sit up, as he would have done if he could. He was thereupon put to bed, and, as I found him, lay gasping for breath, without any manner of discharge, or offer at coughing, whereby he might have been a little relieved. He discoursed seriously, that he found himself very ill, and concluded he should die; that he knew of no cause of this illness on his part, and God's will be done. Dr. Radcliff was sent for; and he, observing his breathing with a syncope, or small hiccup, (if those may not be counted one and the same term) asked if he was used to breathe in that manner; and, somebody saying "No," he asked no more questions, concluding, as I believed, that the patient could not recover. The next day, the minister came, and he had the holy sacrament given him; and, whilst he lay ill, which was not above two or three days, the prayers of the church.

His regimen, discourse, and final departure.

He had no medicines but a little cordial julap, and, as Radcliff prescribed, a pectoral, more for form than any thing else, being only a little fresh-drawn linseed oil. He was, as I perceived, resolved not to be a subject of the artist's experimentations, and did reluct at that nauseous medicine, and was just going to declare, I had almost said swear (as, in the height of passion, sometimes he did) that he would not take it; but he stopped in that instant, and I know not if any one, but myself, observed it; and then he said, "What you will," without any disturbance at all. I thought religion, as well as reason, whispered him that his time was his friends', and not his own, and that he should not add affliction to them by any averse singularity on his part, which he might prevent by his entire resignation; and, from that time to the last, he behaved himself accordingly. Mr. St. Amand, who had been our neighbour and acquaintance, and with whom we used to talk merrily about his trade, and how little life (truly considered) was worth, thought now that he had got a convert, with a large table and window-boards to be furnished with pots and glasses; but he found little or nothing, of that kind, called for; and a patient too, who was not concerned at his case, but seemed as willing to die as to live. This affected him so much, that he could not hold saying, "Well, I never saw any people so willing to die as these Norths are." Sir Dudley lay not

long in this manner; but, in all good sense, conscience, and understanding, perfect tranquillity of mind, and entire resignation, he endured the pain of hard breathing till he breathed no more; which happened on the 31st of December, 1691.

Interred in Covent Garden church, and removed to Glemham.

After this, his almost dying widow retired; and it fell to my share to provide for the funeral, which was honourably celebrated, and his perishable part deposited in Covent-garden church, near the altar. His lady, recovering herself by slow degrees (for her grief had no cure but time), undertook the charge of educating her two sons, his only remains, and making the best of their fortunes, which were amply provided by his last will, and, for their sakes, of her own: for she continued a widow twenty-five years at least; during which time she lost her younger son Roger; which loss was alleviated, by her having the happiness to see her eldest son Dudley married and settled in prosperity, with his family, at Glemham in Suffolk. And when her time of change was come, she chose to lie in the parish-church there; adding her desire, that the corpse of her husband might be taken up, and, being joined with her's, be conveyed down, and interred both together. All which, by due order and authority, was piously performed.

APPENDIX I.

A Letter from Adrianople to one of the Duke of Tuscany's Ministers, resident at Constantinople, giving an account of the Feasts and Solemnities at the Circumcision of a Turkish Prince, and other occasions.

" SIGNOR,

" CREDO che gia tempo fa m'haverete creduto pur sepulto; e, per dirvi il vero, non sete ingannato; giache hoggi di sono piu di 4 mese che mi trovo in questa maladetta città. Il che stimarei non solamente piu che il sepulchro, ma anche piu del purgatorio, e non altro che l' inferno istesso, se non fusse che un giorno spero redemptione. Basta, pur trattenervi un poco, vi daro un conticello del nostro viaggio.

" S. Eccellenza partì dalla sua casa in Pera il 2do di Maggio S. V. con un grandissima trena; essendoci in tutto piu di 120 cavalli, con 55 carri pur baggaglio, et una Lettica doppia portata da 4 muli attacati insieme, a due a due, dove montava S. Eccellenza et il Sig^{r} Cavagliere. E di sopra, pur bon respetto, una carrozza da sei. Vi lascio con-

TRANSLATION.

SIR,

I BELIEVE length of time makes you conclude me buried; and, to say truth, you are not much mistaken; for it is now above four months that I have abode in this accursed city: a state to me beyond the grave, and worse than purgatory, even hell itself, were it not that one day I hope for a redemption. Let it suffice at present, that, for your diversion, I present you with some slight account of our voyage.

His excellency parted from his house in Pera, 2nd of May, old style, with a very great retinue, there being in all more than a hundred and twenty horses, with fifty-five carriages for the baggage, and a double litter, borne by four mules harnessed together, two and two, and there rode his excellency and the knight. Besides all this, for more honour, there was a coach and six. I give

siderare un poco, quanto ci ha costato a metterci in questo ordine.

" Sequitassimo per il primo conak, non piu che a ponte piccolo, dove mi ha sorpresso una buona febretta, per havermi affaticato troppo pur la speditione. E cio fu la causa, che la carroza da sei toccò a mi per la maggior parte del viaggio.

" Nove giornate facemmo pur arrivar qui; e nel entrar la città havemmo tutti gl' honori (che i Turchi vendino alli Franchi pur loro bezzi, come chiaus bashi, &c.) in superlativo grado: e con buona ragione; perche noi mercanti, che pagamo bene, non dovevamo privarsi di questa robba vendibile.

" Entrati nella città, ci dessimo tutti all diavolo pur conak; di che erimo malissimamente provisti a colpa del Sig^r. Antonio, che stava qui 50 giorni avanti di noi a quest' effetto. S. Eccellenza et il Sig^r. Cavagliere, mal sodisfatti che erano, besogna chè havessero patienza per 2 o 3 giorni; nel-qual mentre fecero un Judeo ricco suotar la sua casa. Et Io, per mia parte, scacciai il Sig^r. Antonio del proprio conak, et ho posato con buona commodità. E cosi, da poco a poco, tutti trovassimo a nostri busi, e stiamo in santa patienza.

" Subito che arrivassimo (come se havessero aspettato) cominciarono le feste pur la circonci-

you leave to consider a while, what it must cost to bring this equipage into order.

We travelled and made the first day's journey no farther than the small bridge, where I was surprised with a jolly fever, got by over-harassing myself about this expedition; and, for this reason, the coach and six fell to my share the greatest part of the journey.

After nine days spent upon the road, we arrived here; and at our entrance into the city had all the honours (such as the Turks sell to the Franks for their money, as the chiaus bashi, &c.) in a most superlative degree. And reason good; for we merchants pay well, and ought not to be deprived of our wares.

When we had entered the city, we wished the devil had our lodgings; of which we were most miserably provided, and all in fault of Signor Antonio, who was there fifty days before us, for that very business. But his excellency and the knight, ill satisfied as they were, were forced to have patience for two or three days; in which time we got a rich Jew out of his house. And, as for myself, I turned Signor Antonio out of his quarters, and there reposed with good conveniency. So, by little and little, every one found his kennel, and we rested in the exercise of blessed patience.

No sooner were we arrived, but (as if they stayed for us) they began the sports for circumci-

sione del filio del G. Sig^r. E tutto il serai qua (overo pianura avanti il serraglio) vien quasi coperto dalle padiglione de G. Sig^r. et altri; dico la parte la dalla città; lasciando solamente luogho bastanti per li giuochi; quale era anche furnito di cordi per ballare; e verso la città haveva machine alzate pur metter lampade.

" Queste lampade occupavano del luogho quadro 2 bande, l'una e l'altra aperte verso il serraglio; et il di sopra pieno di padiglione dove stavano li grandi. Le lampade del una banda erano disposte a foggia del Ramasan nelle mosche, e nell' altra erano managgiate da Arabi nella forma che fanno le feste sopra il Nilo.

" Queste benedette feste durano per il spatio di 15 giorni, e la funtione si fece di questo modo.

" Ogni giorno circa il mezzo di, il Grand Sig^r. dava da mangiare a qualche sorte di gente, come alli spahi, alli gianizeri et altri; et anche a tutti gl' artifici, non solo di questa città, ma di piu a quelli di Constantinopoli, che tutti furono convitati per amor de gli presenti che dovevano portare. Quest' ultimi, il giorno che erano chiamati, uscirono della città come fanno quando il G. Sig^r. va alla guerra (che voi habbia visto) con solenne processione del loro mestiere; et in questa foggia si presentarono tutti avanti il G. Sig^r. che in

sion of the grand signor's son. All the other side of the seraglio, that is, the plain before it, was almost covered with the tents of the grand signor and great men; I mean that part that is farthest from the city, leaving room only sufficient for the sports; and that was also provided with ropes for showing tricks; and towards the city were erected frames for placing of lamps.

These lamps supplied two sides of the square, both lying open to the seraglio. The upper sides were taken up with the tents of the grandees. The lamps, on the one side, were disposed like those in the mosques at time of Ramazan; and, on the other side, they were managed by Arabs as they use at the shows upon the river Nile.

These cursed sports lasted fifteen days, and the formalities were performed in this manner.

Every day about noon, the grand signor feasted some sort of people or other, as the spahis, janizaries, &c.; so also all the artificers, not only of this city, but of Constantinople also, who were all invited for the dear sake of the presents they must make. These latter, on the day of invitation, went out of the city in the same manner as when the grand signor goes to the wars (which you have seen), in solemn procession of their trades; and so they all presented themselves before the grand signor, who, in proper person, stood to re-

persona stava pur recever' il loro presente: quale consignato che l'havevano, si retirano al destinato luogho, dove empivano la pancia di buon pilaw ed aqua benedetta.

" E giache parlo di presente, vi dico che tutti quelli, grandi e piccoli, che tenevano dell' imperio, non solamente bashi, ma anco tutti i cadini, erano obligati di mandare o portare presente a questa solennità; e questo ancora non a loro beneplacito, ma era stabilito un officiale di proposito, che le guardava se erano degni, e pareche volte tornavano quel che portavano a dietro per non esser sufficiente. E non solamente si dava al G. Sig^r. ma ancora alla valide, stassiche, et stiazadi.

" All' honore d'essere chiamato a questa festa non fu ammesso altero Franco che il Raguseo, che fu chiamato col' sue presente, come gli altri sudditi del imperio. Noi (pur che eramo qui) non habbiamo havuto quest' honore, ne meno si fece conto di noi come se qui non fussimo stati.

" Considerate voi quanta robba si amassava da si gran concorso di popolo: basta. Finito ch' era il mangiare (essendo questa una festa di circoncisione) tutti ch' havevano figlioli d' età d'esser tagliati furono presentati avanti il G. Sig^r. quale ciascheduno fece presente di robbe e di dinaro.

ceive their presents. Those being delivered, they all retired to the place appointed, and there stuffed their bellies with pilaw and precious cold water.

And having spoke of presents, I must add that all persons, great and small, that depended on the government, not only bashas, but every little justice, at this solemnity, were obliged to send or bring presents; and that not after their own good wills, but an officer express was appointed to see if they were as they ought to be; and sometimes they turned back the presents as not competent. And they must give, not only to the grand signor, but also to the queen-mother, the queen, and the prince.

No Frank is admitted to the honour of being invited to these feasts but the Ragusean, who was invited to come with presents, as other subjects of the empire. As for us (although present) we were not called to that honour, nor had any more of their regards than if we had not been at all there.

Imagine with yourself what a world of riches must be gathered from such a vast concourse of people: I say no more of that. After the meal was over (if it happened to be one of the circumcision days) all who had children of age fit for that operation, brought them to the grand signor, who presented each with some garments and money.

" In questo non mancava di comparire diversi Christiani fatti Turchi per farsi tagliare con gl' altri; et in questa maniera non mancava giorno che non si circoncidessero da 300 in 400 persone. E nel mentre che questa si faceva, cominciarono gli giuochi, che erano balli di figlioli vestiti da donne, con mille sorte di mascaralick, di staggi evat, cocla, e tutti quelli sporchi giuochi che voi havete spesso visto in Const. Qui pure venivano tutti quelli persone che potevano fare qualsivoglia cosa d' estraordinario, come saltare, lottare, portar peso estraordinario, o far qualche cosa di nuovo; e quel che era da veramente di grande, in un medessimo tempo, in quella gran piazza, si fecero piu sorte di giuochi, come a dire, ballare in su la corda in piu maniere, et anche molte compagnie che ballavano in terra, in diversi habbiti, altra alla Persiana, alla foggia loro, altri compagnie alla Indiana, altri alla Turchesca, et altri mascherate in mille maniere.

" Fuori di questi in piu luoghi fecero comedie e diversi colloquij sporchi, il fotere, et il bugearare alla naturale. Piu di questo fecero alcuni navi e galere bastanza grande, da potar capire 2 o 3 persone dentro, e queste pendevano sopra corde grosse in modo che potevano menarle quà e là; e cosi formavano combattimenti navali, dando spesso fuoco alli piccoli canonetti che havevano gli huomini ch' erano dentro. Ma questo era un si malfatto

There wanted not Christians turned Turks appearing daily to be circumcised with the others. And, in this manner, no less than between three and four hundred persons were every day circumcised; and, during that work, the sports began, which were of young men dancing in the habits of women, with a thousand jack-pudding tricks, puppet-shows, and all those obscene representations you have often seen in Constantinople. For all persons that could do any thing extraordinary, as dance, wrestle, carry vast weights, or perform any novelty, came there at that time; and what really seemed great, in the same great square, and at the same time, were performed divers sorts of entertainments, as rope-dancing in several manners; and also many companies dancing on the ground in different habits, some in Persian habits, in their way, others Indian, some Turkish, with other masquerades in great variety.

Besides all these, in divers places, they had a sort of farces acted with several filthy dialogues, and all kinds of obscenity acted most naturally. And also they contrived certain ships or galleys of sufficient bigness to contain two or three persons within, which they suspended from large ropes, so as they might turn them several ways, whereby they formed a kind of sea-fight, often firing the little cannons they had within; but this

sporco e redicolo disegno, che peggio non poteva essere.

" Finito il giorno in questa maniera, doppo un' hora o due di respiro, cominciando l' oscuro della notte, davano principio all' fuochi artificiali: essendo formate tutte le lampade in superbissima maniera, et intorno della piazza v'era un numero infinito di questi Arabi massalagini con loro fuochi in mano, che questi pure facevano un belvedere.

" Posto tutto in ordine, cominciavano ad accender le machine che furono sempre assai, e delle volte passava piu di 20 diversi che brugiarono in una notte. Oltre di questo erano anche huomini in diversi parti che lasciavano andare per aria delle rochette in una infinità, e grossissimi. E cosi durava la festa delli fuochi sino a mezza notte.

" Non posso particolarizare questi Fuochi, perche sarebbero in gran numero. Ma d'uno che a me pareva estraordinario, non posso che farne mentione; quale, benche fosse simplice, era però piu di stupore, che d' arte. Era fatto in terra, e dandogli fuoco, vomitava fuori quantità di scintille a foggia del rochetta; ma la massa non si menava mai, ma stav asempre firma in terra, d' onde, come dico, vomitando quel fuoco che quasi faceva tremar la terra, col' rumore e tuono, e coll' horrore

contrivance was in the design of it so deformed and ridiculous that worse could not have been made.

After the work of the day was done in this manner, and a breathing-time of an hour or two past, and it began to grow dark, the fire-works began to play; all the lamps were put in their places in manner most glorious; and round the square stood an infinite number of the Arab fire-carriers; with their grates lighted in their hands; and that in reality was a fine appearance.

When all things were in order, they began to give fire to the machines, which were always in abundance; there being no less than twenty or more discharged every night, and, besides these, men were placed about in the square, who sent up into the air rockets without number, and of largest size. And, in this manner, the entertainment of fire-works lasted till near midnight.

These fire-works were of so many kinds, I cannot describe them all particularly; but one, which to me seemed most extraordinary, I must take notice of; and that, plain and simple as it was, had more of astonishment than art; it was set in the ground, and, being fired, vomited up a world of sparkling stuff, like to the trains of the rockets, but the body of it stirred not, being fixed in the earth; but, as I said, from thence vomited up such fire, as made the very earth as it were tremble,

di fuoco, rendeva una vista piu tosto spaventevole che dilettevole a spettatori. Ma questo, pur che c' andavo spesso, non me era riuscito pero di vederlo piu di 2 volte, facendolo raramente, e non senza particolar' ordine.

" Altro di strano fuora di questo non tralascio di dirvi, d' una sorte di rochetta, che lasciavano; le quali non facevano quella coda, o crine, che haveva gl' altri, ma solo tanto che bastava a non perder di issi la vista; e con tutto cio montavano piu alto di gli altri, e con piu forza; e doppo la bota che ancora era grande, lasciavano molte stelle e fochetti per aria.

" Gli astanti potete ben' credere ch' erano assai, chi a piedi, e chi a cavallo, e per gl' ultimi vi lascio pensare che potevano havere poco riposo, giache li cavalli dandosi un' sopra l' altro in cento maniere, facendo una confusione terribile. E si puo dire se mai è stato uñ ballo di cavalli nobili era quella volta, giache nell' istesso tempo si vedevano non so quante millaia che facendo ogn' uno a modo suo senza haver' minimo respetto a chi le doveva governare. Ma, per dirvi il giusto di questo godeva poco, giache piu volte quantumque procurano al possibile d' haver un cavallo mite; mi toccava nondimeno esser nell' ballo, e non con poco risigo, onde non hebbi tanto gusto di questa

with such a roaring and noise, and with such horror from the fire, as with the appearance rather dreaded than delighted the spectators; but though I went often, it was not my chance to see this above twice; for they used it seldom, and then not without express orders.

There was another strange thing, which I shall not omit to tell you, being a sort of rocket sent up without such tail or train that others had, but only so much as served just to keep sight of them; yet they mounted higher than the others, and with greater force; and after the bounce, which was also very loud, they scattered abundance of stars, and little fires in the air.*

You may imagine here wanted no spectators some on foot, and others on horseback; as for the latter, I refer to your own thoughts, how far they were from being at ease, while the horses flung one over another a hundred several ways, in terrible disorder. And I can affirm, there never was such a dance of brave horses seen as at that place; for, at one and the same time, you might observe, I know not how many thousand of them, every one acting after his own caprice, without any the least regard to those that pretended to govern them.

* [These were discharged out of mortar pieces; which then being a new thing, or out of this gentleman's way to understand, he writes it as a wonder.] *Note in the first Edition.*

parte, se non doppo haver trovato il modo di lasciar' il cavallo a buona distanza.

"Vi doveva dire al' principio, che questo quadro, dove giuochavano, era sempre circondato da giannizeri con le loro mitre in testa, e pastorali nelle mani, che non lasciavano d' accostar troppo la folla della gente, che mai non mancava; et ancora per remediare alle teste rotte, che sarebbero state, se tutto il governo fusse restato a loro, erano ordinati circa cento huomini vestiti tutti de cuoio, con una beretta giusto alla foggia della mitre de' nostri vescovi, la quale era adornata con diversi sonagli che sopra erano attaccate, havendo anche ciascheduno in mano un utro (detto in Turchesco, *tulum*) quale, come pure tutto il loro habito, era unto d' oglio; e pur capo di questi havevano messo un corpo piu rediculo che mai se possa vedere; essendo di statura altissima, e di modo grosso, e con certa pancia, che il vederlo bastava a cavar riso da un sasso. Costui vestito di rosso, come un cardinale, comandava sopra quella truppa nera, e dove vedeva il popolo premer' piu, mandava una squadra che subito face-

And to tell you the truth, I had small joy in this diversion; and, however we endeavoured all that was possible to procure horses that were temperate, yet I could not help making one in the dance, and that not without much hazard, which not a little retrenched my enjoyments, till I found out the way to leave my horse at a good distance from me.

I should have told you at first, that the square, where these sports were acted, was always surrounded with janizaries, having their caps on their heads, and staves of correction in their hands; and these ceased not to lay on upon the press of people, which was never wanting. But to prevent the breaking of heads, which had been plenty, if all had been left to their discretion, there was an ordinance of about one hundred men dressed all in leather, with caps just like our bishops mitres, and those set off with divers little bells made fast to the tops of them; and each of them had in his hand a boraccio-skin (called in Turkish, *tulum*) which, as well as their garments, were all anointed with oil; and for captain of these they found out a figure the most ridiculous that ever was seen, being exceeding tall, and very fat, with a paunch as the very sight of him would make a stone laugh. This fellow was dressed in red like a cardinal, and commanded the black regiment, and where he saw the people press

vano luogho, perche sempre menavano i lori utri, che, dove toccava, lasciava un segno, e guastava la robba.

" Di questa maniera furono celebrate le feste della circoncisione per lo spatio di 15 giorni con poco varietà; facendo per la piu parte le medesime cose. E spinte che erano, succede il santo giorno di *Merlut*, overo la festa per la nascità del profeta Mahomet. Dove habbiamo visto il G. Sigr. et il principe andar' alla moschea con molta solennità; pero con la sua gente di serraglio senza che nessuno altro si mescolasse, e quella sera il poveretto perse il preputio. Ma non (come dicono) senza grandissima repugnanza; il padre tenendolo per forza mentre si fece il sacramento.

" Chi sa? forse il poveretto haveva qualche instinto divino al' Christianesmo che lo fece fare questa resistenza. Si puol' credere che sarebbe stato piu facilmente contentato alla ceremonia del nostro santissimo battessimo. Voglia Iddio che quando sara per regnare, si recordi di questa violenza, e che non permette che piu sene faccia a nessuno; et allhora i nostri padri e frati potranno sperare un meglior raccolta di quella che trovano fra questa seta.

" Ma piano. Vi devo demandare perdono per

most, he dispatched a squadron that soon made room enough; for they always laid about them with their skins, which never touched but left a print and spoiled the clothes.

In this manner continued the celebration of the festivals of the circumcision for the space of fifteen days, with little variety, doing, for the most part, but the same things over and over again. At the expiration of that time came on the holy-day of *Merlut*, or festival for the birth of the prophet Mahomet. On that we had the sight of the grand signor, and the princes, proceeding to the mosque with great solemnity, being attended with the folks of the seraglio only, without any others being concerned; and that evening the poor infant was circumcised, but (as they said) not without utmost repugnance; the father holding it by force during the operation.

Who knows, but this infant may have some holy instinct towards Christianity, which made him strive so; one may believe that he would have been more easily reconciled to the ceremonies of our most holy baptism. God grant that when he comes to reign, he may remember this ill usage, and not permit it to be done to any others. And then our papas and friars may hope for a better harvest out of this sect than they find at present.

But hold. I must ask your pardon for having

haver ommesso dirvi della solenne cavalcata che se fatta 2 giorni prima della circoncisione, ad honore del principe, conducendolo tutto la gente della corte per buona parte della città al serraglio, con tutta la pompa imaginabile; essendo ivi pure il vizir, e tutti li bashani, quasi che non mancava altro che la persona del G. Sig^r.

" Il poveretto era talmente adornato da gioie, et altri superbi fornimenti, da quali era coperta di modo che se perdeva, et apena se poteva vedere il suo musino fra tanto splendore. Poco avanti la sua persona erano portati molti (*nacul* si chiamano in Turchesca) di quell' coglionarie fatti di fiori, di cera et oro cantarino che havete visto portare avanti le spose, e sono grandi o piccoli conforme alla spesa che contentano fare. Da questi duo, erano molti di statura mediocre, essendo portabile, che da uno, che da duo, et altri de 4 huomini, le quali passando facevano una bellissima vista. Et dietro di questi erano poi duo fatti di stravagante altezza, e molto grande, essendo pichi 27. di altezza. Questi duo erano portati delli schiavi che furono in numero piu di 250, con alcuni grandi travi che passavano di sotto, e col' fischio si regulevano nel alzare o abbassare, come si governava nelle galere, essendosi posti sopra la machina certi comiti a tal effetto; et ancora per reggerla accioche non cascasse da nessuna banda, haveva sarsi verso la cima, et erano tenuti in mano da

omitted to tell you of a most solemn cavalcade, two days before the day of the circumcision, in honour of the prince; all the whole court conducting him through the greater part of the city to the seraglio with all the glory imaginable, there being the vizier and all the bashas; so that nothing was wanting but the grand signor's person.

The little infant was so set out with jewels and other rich ornaments, that it was quite covered with them, so as to be lost; and through so much splendour one could scarce discern its little countenance. A little before its person they carried several of those (*nacul* they are called in Turkish) dressed up trumpery, made with wax flowers, and rattling brass, which you have seen carried before brides at weddings, and are larger or lesser according to the charge they are willing to allow. Of these in pairs many were of moderate size, being borne by one, some by two, and others by four men to each, which, passing along, made a very pleasant view. Behind these came two vast ones of extravagant height, no less than eighteen yards: these were carried by slaves in number about two hundred and fifty, with help of certain beams that passed through underneath. These carriers were managed with a whistle so as to raise or let sink the burthen as they manage in galleys; there being placed upon the machine certain boatswains or that very purpose. And also for surer conduct

altri galeotti; poi piu sotto, dove potevano arrivar con legni, havevano attaccati 4 di questi che a guisa di sarsi,* erano portati, o tenuti dell' istessi galeotti. Et ogni volta che si firmava la machina, appogiavano questi legni in terra per reggerlo. E giache queste machine erano si alte, e dovendo passare per la città, havevano provisto qualche giorni prima ogni cosa per buttar giu tutto, quello che potesse ostare al' passare d' essi. Ne contenti di questa diligenza dubitando che forse trovarebbe impedimento, accio non di fermassero troppo, fecero marchiare appresso d' essi un capo maestro di marangoni con una truppa di 50 massoni, ciascheduno delli quale era provisto di manare, sege, martelli grossi, et altri stromenti necessarii, per buttar giu tutto quello che era di apparenza a dare minimo fastidio ad essi. E cio fecero in piu luoghi con una ammirabil prestezza, saltando su, e buttando a basso quel che a loro pareva, senza consigliare il padrone, o pure dirli con licentia.

* [The Italian word, which the honourable author of this work has left untranslated, is here, in the Italian, *sarsi.* Now I cannot find that there is any such word in the Italian language. I have not the original MS. of this letter by me; but I am apt to think that the word, there, was *sarte;* which signifies ropes, or cordage for ships, and particularly the shrouds which keep the mast steady. And what confirms in great measure my conjecture, is a print of this *nacul,* or pageant, which I found whilst I was looking over Sir Paul Rycaut's History of the Turks, vol. ii. For in that there are six ropes, three on one side, and three on the other, fixed

of this, so as it might not fall any way, they had *. . . near the summit, which were held by other slaves; and underneath, where they might fix long staves, four of them were applied, which as the *. . . . were also carried or held by the same slaves. And whenever the machine rested, those were pitched on the ground to stay it. And these being so very tall, and to pass through great part of the city, for some days before they had made provision by beating down all things that might obstruct their passage. And yet, not being satisfied with this provision, and suspecting some impediment might happen, and to prevent all delay, they had, marching near, a master carpenter with a troop of fifty workmen, every one provided with his adze, saw, sledge, and other necessary tools for battering down all things that but seemed to be in the way; and they did as much in several places, with a wonderful dexterity, climbing up, and then beating down as they pleased, without consulting any owner, or so much as saying "By your leave, sir."

near the summit of the pageant, and hanging down from thence low enough for slaves to take hold of them, and so keep it steady. A little below these were four long staves, two on each side opposite to each other, with holes bored through one end of them, which turned upon pins that were fixed horizontally to the pageant. The lower ends of these also were held by slaves; and when the machine rested, those ends stuck in the ground, and supported it like so many props.] *Note in the first Edition.*

" In questa maniera fu condotto il principe al serraglio, e mettendo queste due machine avanti il *kiosk*, l' altre piccole portate dentro; e cosi fatta, come primo ho detto, la circoncisione, fu finita questa festa.

" Noi speravamo d' obtener' audienza, e finir' li fatti nostri; ma il diavolo non volsi cosi. Egli haveva altro in testa, e per dilettare il suo popolo eletto, machinava nove feste, e non senza ragione; perche havendo offesa la dea Venere, peccando (come debbiamo credere noi Christiani all' opposition di circoncisi Turchi e Giudei) col' smembrar' il cotale, voleva placarla col' celebrar' li santissimi suoi riti del maritagio. E cosi passando nel mentre qualche giorni necessarii pur gl' apparechi, di nuovo cominciavano altri giuochi che vi dirò adesso.

" Apparechiata che fu la casa di Musaip Coglioglu, quale era per sposar' la figlia del G. Sig^r. cominciavano queste feste, la maggior parte della quale furono celebrate in casa fra le donne. Ma di fuora via, non cominciarono niente se non doppo *kendi*, dove facevano tutti quelli giuochi e balli che avanti il serraglio havevano fatto prima. Solamente in materia di ballar' su la corda facevano molto meglio d' avanti; e veramente si viddero cose degne di maraviglio.

" Ma per non fermarmi troppo in descriverli, vi dirò solo che ho visto un huomo montar su la

In this manner the prince was conveyed to the seraglio, and, placing the two great machines before the *kiosque* (or house of pleasure), the lesser were carried in. So having dispatched the circumcision, as I have before related, this festival was at an end.

We hoped now to obtain audience, and dispatch all our affairs; but the devil was of another mind, and had other matters in hand for the solace of his elect, and so contrived new festivals, and not without cause; for having offended the goddess Venus, sinning (as we account, that are Christians, in opposition to the circumcised Jews and Turks) by a mutilation of that same, was resolved to appease her by celebrating her most sacred rites of marriage. And so, after a few days respite, as were necessary for the preparations, new sports began, as I am about to tell you.

When the house of Musaip Coglioglu was prepared, who was to marry the grand signor's daughter, this festival began; whereof the greatest part was transacted within doors among the women; but, without, nothing appeared till after *kendi* (or hour of three), and then all the plays and dances as had been before the seraglio, were acted over again; only the business of rope-dancing was much better than before; and really we saw there things done worthy of wonder.

But that I may not dwell too long upon descriptions, I shall only tell you that I saw a man

corda con un asino vivo, e ben grande, su le spalle. Ma questo il ballare con ragazzi legati su la schena, et altri giuochi simili, erano cose ordinarie. Ma quello che a me parse piu stravagante, era che un huomo sopra un corda ben tesa, et assai alta, tenendola solamente con le mani, senza toccar con nessun altra parte del corpo, girava attorno la corda 12 volte senza fermarsi, e con una violenza, che credo se havesse lasciato le mani, sarebbe andato per aria non so sia dove. Di piu legavano una gran corda (overo piu attacate assieme) sopra il summo del minarè di Sultan Selim, portando l'altro capo e legatolo nel giardino di detto Coglioglu; giu di questo venivano ogni giorno 2 o 3 di questi ciambashi; chi legato per il piede, chi per li capelli su la testa, chi sonando trombetta, e chi tirando pistolle, secondo pareva meglio ad ognuno, per piacer al G. Sig. che mostrò dilettarsi piu con li balli di corda, che con nessun altro giuoco. La distanza dal summo del minarè sino ad altro capo della corda, dove era legato nel giardino suditto, stimo d'esser tanta quanta della casa del nostro emb^r. in Pera sino 4 cantoni dove sta il residente di Genoa. E la forza con la quale queste bestie descendevano, era tale che trovavano grandissima difficoltà di fermarsi a basso senza romper' li ossi.

mount his rope with a live ass, and no small one, upon his shoulders; but that of dancing with a boy at their backs, and such like tricks, were ordinary. But what to me seemed very extravagant, was when a man, hanging at a rope stretched on high, and holding only by his hands, without touching the rope with any other part of his body, turned round the rope at least twelve times without any stay, and with such violence that I believe, if he had let go his hold, he had flown through the air I know not how far off. And what was more, they fastened a large rope (or rather more than one spliced together) to the summit of the tower of Sultan Selim, and the other end was made fast in Coglioglu's garden. And every day one or two came down this rope, some by the feet tied, some by the hair of the head, some sounding trumpets, and others firing pistols after their own fancy, for giving most delight to the grand signor, who showed himself pleased with rope-dancing more than with any other of the sports. The distance between the top of the tower and the garden, where the other end of the rope was fastened, I judge to be as far as from our ambassador's house in Pera to the four corners (viz. as from the Exchange to Paul's) where the resident of Genoa lives. These fellows came down with such violence that it was found a most difficult thing to stop them without breaking their bones.

"La piu bella era che doppo d'esser restate queste corde distese più giorni esposte al sole et alla pioggia, salta capriccio ad un di questi di ligarsi adosso un ragazzo di 12 anni per battere il tamburo e mentre qui sonava la trombetta. Venendo appresso il serraglio di Coglioglu, si ruppe la corda, e cade in terra. Ma la sua fortuna volse che non cade di troppo altezza, et anco cascò sopra un albero, poi sopra l'estremità delli coppi d'una casa, et anco doppo sopra un disgratiato Armeno a quale ruppe la spalla, e lo ridusse quasi a morte, senza chi egli s'offendesse troppo; ma pero fu levato col putto pur morto. Ma in pochi giorni, egli si rihebbe per non haver havuto alcun' osso rotto; et il putto haveva solo una buona ferita nel mente. E pur questo il G. Sigr. diede mancia, a tutti tre non so quante aspre il giorno in vita. Doppo questo non si fece piu quel giuoco; solo tornarono a legare la corda nel medesimo minarè non pero su la cima, ma appresso la seconda galleria. E sopra di questa, benche si alta e lunga, ho visto piu huomini a montare e scendere ritto a piede andando a buon passo.

"Doppo terminati questi giuochi, si fece la processione della dote, et altra. Ma prima c'andò il presente che il novizzo mandava alla sposa, quale era accompagnato del teftardar che fu compare,

The best of all was, that after these ropes had been stretched, and for divers days exposed to the sun and rain; a fancy sprang in one of these fellows to come down with a boy tied to his back, who was to beat a drum while he sounded a trumpet; and being come near Coglioglu's seraglio, the rope broke, and so they fell to the ground. But fortune had ordered he should not fall far, but in the first place to light upon a tree, and then upon the end of a house, and after that, upon an unlucky Armenian, whose shoulder was put out, and there lay he for dead, but little harm to the rope-dancer; yet he and his charge the boy, were taken up as dead; but in few days, there being no bones broke, he came to himself again; and the boy had only a lusty wound on his chin. For this accident the grand signor settled on all three a daily maintenance of I know not how many aspers for life. After this, they used this sport no more, but contrived to fasten the rope to the same tower, not at the top, but next to the second gallery; and yet, so high and long as the rope was, I saw many men walk up, and come down afoot, going upright, and at a good rate.

When these entertainments were over, they made the procession of the dowry, and also another; but first went that of the present which the bridegroom made to his mistress. This was at-

con un grandissimo allai d' altri gran personaggi. Ma il vizir co' gl' altri bashani del banco non c' era.

" Questo presente consisteva di non so quanti muli carricati di confectionarie, et poi non so quanti altri di diversi lavori di zuccaro, formati in tutte le maniere immaginabile; come di representare elefanti, cameli, leoni, e mille altri specie d' animali; come anco di giardini con alberi pieni di frutti, tutti di zuccaro. E per dir il vero, se bene nella superstitione Turchesca viene prohibito il far ogni sorte di figura o representatione, posso pero credere chi di tutto questo non fecero alcun peccato, giache le figure erano si rozze e malfatti che l' intentione del maestro era poco volte incontrata.

" Doppo di questi andavano molti aga in piede portando ciascheduno nelle braccie, certi panni di rasi, robba d' oro, e simili pur vesti; e questi consistevano credo di 120 persone portando 5 o 6 vesti almeno per huomo. E doppo di questi venivano le gioie tutte portate aperte in mostro al mondo; la valuta dalle quale era piu di 500,000 dollari leoni. E doppo tutto era teftardar basha che come compare portava il presente alla sposa.

" Fra li presenti doveva dirvi di 12 carozze di schiavi, e qualche 20 eunuchi che fra li altri erano ancora presentati. Pochi giorni doppo, menarono

tended by the teftardar, who was the father, and a mighty train of great men; but the vizier, or any bashas of the council, were not there.

This present consisted of I know not how many mules loaden with sweet-meats, and as many others charged with several sorts of sugar-works, made up in all shapes imaginable, as to represent elephants, camels, lions, and a thousand other animals; there were also gardens with trees full of fruit, all made of sugar. And to say truth, if, in the Turkish religion, it had been prohibited to make any image or the likeness of any thing, I should yet believe that, in all this, they were guilty of no sin; for the figures were so rude and ill-contrived, that the design of the artist was seldom discovered.

Then came several agas afoot, each of them carrying in his arms pieces of satin cloth of gold, and the like, for vests; and these I believe were in number one hundred and twenty persons, carrying each five or six vests apiece, at least. Then came on the jewels, carried open, and showed to all people, the value of which was about five hundred thousand lion dollars; and after all came the teftardar basha, who, as father, conducted the presents to the bride.

Among the presents I must not omit to tell you of twelve coaches full of slaves, and about twenty eunuchs, which, with the rest, were also

la sposa in casa del marito; e cio fecero con grandissima pompa, essendovi presente il Vizir Azem con tutti li grandi e loro corte. Avanti la sposa era portata la *nacul* in istessa maniera che erano avanti il principe, quando fece la sua processione prima che fosse circonciso, che percio non occurre di discriverlo novamente. La sposa fu condotta in carozza da sei; li fornimenti di cavalli erano superbissimi, e la carozza era tutta fatta di piasterè d' argento. Avanti la carozza andavano molti eunuchi, e due ancora per banda. Era sequitata da piu da 30 carozze, che dicono fosser' tutte sue schiavi, havendo anche ogni carozza 2 eunuchi d'avanti, et uno per fianco.

" E cosi finì la processione, essendo stati pur retroguardia qualche denzine di cameli con i musici, e loro stromenti, di strepito che fecero rumore bastante per stornare il mondo. Poco doppo passarono molte altre carozze con dame di dentro (come si crede) et eunuchi di fuora. Et in quelli dicesi fosse la regina madre, e loro grandi della corte, che andavano a veder la sposa in casa.

" Adesso vedo haver' tralasciato dirvi fra le ditte due processione, un altra che fu quella della dote che il G. Sig^r. dava alla sua figlia, la quale consisteva di qualche centinaia di muli carriche

presented. A few days after, they carried the bride to the house of her husband; and this was done with the greatest pomp, there being present the grand vizier and all the grandees with their attendance. Before the bride went the *nacul*, in the same manner as they were borne before the prince at the procession of him before his circumcision, so I need not make a new description of them. The bride was conveyed in a coach and six horses, the furniture and harness of the horses were most sumptuous, and the coach was all of silver plates. Before the coach went many eunuchs, and two on each side; it was followed by thirty coaches, which they say contained all her slaves; those had also, before each, two eunuchs, and one on each side.

So ended the procession, there following, by way of a rear guard, divers dozens of camels loaden with musicians and their instruments of noise, that sounded loud enough to deafen all mankind. A little while after followed divers other coaches filled (as was guessed) with ladies, having eunuchs without; and here, as they said, was the queen mother and her court, who went to visit the bride in her house.

Here I find I have omitted, among these two processions, to tell you of another, which was of the portion which the grand signor gave to his daughter. It consisted of some hundreds of mules

di masseritie di casa, con grandissima quantità di gioie ricci nella medesima maniera nella quale si fece la robba presentata. Ma era di molto piu di valore, dicono per il doppio. Et ancora hebbe molte carozze di schiavi e loro eunuchi, tutti accompagnati dal vizir et altri grandi della corte.

" Adesso mi pare d'haver finito la festa che spesso maldicevamo per essere state quelle la causa della tardanza nostra: ma voi altri Pollachi, se non foste un man di bestie, dovevate lodar Iddio pur la buona conjunctura, giache qual meglior occasione potevate desiderare di rihavervi a pigliar di nuovo Kaminetz con sciacciare a fatto li Turchi da quella parte che quel tempo dove il G. Sig^r. e tutti i ministri grandi di quest' imperio erano impiegati in queste coglionarie? Ma vi ho detto che cosa siate, il che non credo che negarete per haver perso si buona congiuntura che non haverete per molti anni. Ma di gia vi doverete preparare pur resistenza all' unita forza di tutta Turchia.

Non voglio finir questa letterina senza avisarvi, che tra li nostri maggior patimenti, s' aggiongeva il peggiore, che era la peste. La quale, travagliando fieramente tutta la città, obligò sua Eccellenza, doppo 50 giorni della nostra venuta qui, a retirarsi con tutta la corte nel villagio di Cara

laden with house-furniture, and then a world of jewels of price, in the same manner as when the presents were conveyed; but these were of much greater value, they say double at least. And here also were divers coaches full of slaves, and their eunuchs, the vizier and all the grandees of the court attending.

I think now I am come to an end of these festivals, which we have often cursed as being the cause of our stay here. But for you Polanders, if ye had any more wit than the brutes, you should have praised God for this happy conjuncture; for what fairer opportunity could you have desired to proffer itself for your recovery of Caminiec, and driving the Turks out of those countries, than this time when the grand signor, and all the great officers of the empire, were so busily employed about this trumpery? But I have told you what you are, and I scarce think you will contradict me, having lost so good an opportunity, which you may not have again in many years; but now it is the work to prepare yourselves to resist the united force of all Turkey.

I shall not conclude this petit letter without acquainting you, that among the rest of our great mortifications, one greater arrived, which was the plague. For that, marching fiercely through all the city, obliged his excellency, after fifty days from our first coming, to remove with

Agate. E d' inde, quasi come si perseguitasse, lo sciacciò fuori nelle prate dove stavamo nelle padiglione.

A me toccò d' esser sempre nella città, che veramente non poteva sfugire per una cosa o per altra, però me si dava sempre prattica, e per piu parte andavo a cenna di sua Eccellenza.

Questo Signore (che la gente di questo paese cosi chiama la peste, anzi voglino che tale era) quantumque furioso, e noi pure in numero di passa 120 persone, giache noi scapavamo piu chi fosse possibile, non ci arrivò mai alcuni delle sue ferite, ma alla fine non contento di lasciarci rittonare senza qualche toccatina, colpì qualche due delli servitori. Qual caso, senza minimo indugio (non parendo bene aspettar altro) fu causa che si disallogiassimo non senza qualche disordine. E ci fece pensare alla partenza verso la desiderata città di Constantinopoli; che sarà fra pochi giorni, benche non saria seguito, se non fosse intervenuto tal' accidente, e di la non mancherò di servirvi quello troverò di nuovo doppo un' absenza di 5 mesi, con che &c.

all his attendance to the village of Cara-agate, and from thence, as if it persecuted us, drove him out into the fields, where we abode in our tents.

It fell to my share to be always in the city, which in truth I could not avoid, for business of one sort or other required it. Care was taken to find me constant employment, and for the most part I went at the will and pleasure of his excellency.

This lord (for so the people of these parts call the plague, and they will have him to be so) furious as he was, and we being in number above one hundred and twenty persons, having avoided infection all that was possible, did not reach us with any of his strokes; but at last, not content we should escape without a pat, he struck down two of the servants; which accident, without the least hesitation (we not thinking fit to expect more) made us dislodge, and not without some disorder, and also admonished us to be gone towards our desired city Constantinople; and that will be now in a few days, but had not been thought of so soon if this accident had not happened, and from thence I shall not fail to write you what novelty I shall find after an absence of five months.

APPENDIX II.

It may not be amiss to set down what I found amongst the papers of this honourable author, concerning the king's sentiments and behaviour at this time, because he had full opportunity of knowing them. It is as follows. The firmness of Sir Dudley North's before the king was not resented by his majesty in the least, for aught as appeared then, or afterwards; so far was he from putting the removal or any affront upon him. And the like appeared in divers other instances of this closeting; for if men did not set up to censure, or advise, but answered modestly; although it was positively against his majesty's desires, he did not think the worse of them for it. But if they answered pertly and pragmatically, as showing somewhat of animosity, or party, he showed some marks of his displeasure. And it may be proper to declare farther what I might observe living in the midst of these affairs; which is, that the king bitterly repented the parting with his loyal parliament, and laboured hard to get another; and this work about the tests, &c. grew fastidious to him, having brought many evils and affronts upon him. But, his party urging him so

incessantly, he would not break with them upon it. He and they had very different designs. He desired of all things to compass a fair parliament, and I believe would have agreed with them in any thing moderate: but they desired to have no parliament at all, and invented all these machinations to disgust the nation in so high a degree, as really it did, that his majesty might see plainly that all parliaments were become impracticable. And the proceedings were so gross, public, and universally urged upon the whole nation, that no other construction could be made of it, unless it were right down treachery, colluding with foreigners to destroy him. And that might be in some sort, but not in the general, nor in the chancellor in particular; whose end I verily believe was to save his bacon. He knew, and could tell his companions, that the king was dispunishable, and could deal with any parliament; but his ministers were obnoxious, and would suffer, whatever else happened. No wonder then they were so copious in methods to have always this and that, and twenty matters to dispatch, before the parliament was to be summoned.

There were egregious marks of the king's urging against them for a parliament; for he more than once publicly declared it to the nation; and once the very day; which latter declaration

they spoiled by fixing an indulgence to it. The committee of regulations sat usually on Saturdays; and at one of those meetings the king came, and was told they had resolved the next should be a fanatic parliament, because none else would answer his majesty's ends, and therefore they moved him to forbid all his servants, that were of the church of England, to stand. At that, the king was in a great passion, and declared he had always found those gentlemen to be his friends, and he would never believe otherwise of them till he found it; and he should rely upon them, and they should all of them, that he could prevail for, be chosen. Accordingly intimation was given to Sir Dudley North, and others, to prepare their interests against the writs. This passage I was told by some that might know, and would not lie.

THE LIFE

OF THE

HON. AND REV. DR. JOHN NORTH,

MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE IN CAMBRIDGE,

AND GREEK PROFESSOR,

PREBENDARY OF WESTMINSTER,

AND SOMETIME CLERK OF THE CLOSET TO HIS MAJESTY

KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

THE LIFE

OF THE

HON. AND REV. DR. JOHN NORTH.

Introduction, showing the design, and wherein recommendable.

My design in these papers is to frame a short history of the life of an honourable person, some time since deceased, and to represent his character as near to truth as my stock of materials will enable me. Works of this kind may be useful to such as had rather profit by the example of others, than apply any invention, or industry, of their own, towards a moral improvement; or, it may be, to wear away some heavy hours in reading. As for the importance of the present subject, I shall hang out no bush, but submit to the peruser the determination, whether there was need of such a proverbial signal, or not. Some have affected to write the lives of persons long since dead and gone, and their names preserved only by some formal remains, and (ever) dubious traditions. So painters copy from obscure draughts half oblitera-

ted, whereof no member, much less the entire resemblance is to be found. But fiction, supported upon seeming probability, must fill up the blanks, and supply all defects. In this manner some lives have become redivival, but with partial views, tending, either to panegyric, the advance of some favourite opinions, or factious intrigues; which are fiercely pursued, while the life-scraps come out very thin and meagre. And, after great length of time, how should it come off better? My choice is of what the present undertaking aims at, the life of a person* known to some yet living, and done by a close acquaintance and frequent companion, who hath neither inclination nor temptation to court the public, or flatter the private.

To what end, and the reasons.

The moral intent here is to do justice to the person, and service to his family; both which may result from the present endeavour to retrieve his character. And this is no slight task, because he took express care that nothing real should remain, whereby, in after-times, he might be remembered; and my memory is now the repository of most that may be recovered of him. Therefore I think it not reasonable for me to let such an ornament to his family, and example of virtue, be wholly forgot and lost; or perhaps his name only remain,

* [This must be understood of the time when the author wrote.] *Note in the first Edition.*

and that confined to a petit cycle in some musty genealogy; and scarce that, since the honour, nay the continuance, of families seems to be slighted and unregarded, and since titles and estates seldom continue in the same line above three generations; which makes pedigrees good for little but to maintain titles to lands and tenements at law; and the remembrance of persons and families good for nothing at all. But yet it is hoped the defection is not so great, but some families will remain who would not have any thing valuable of their lineage forgot; and others, who are unconcerned, may be glad to know examples, whether of good or bad, one for choice, and the other for aversion; I hope I need not say which. But these considerations have pinned me down to the work; and I see no means I can have, with decency, to escape.

Times wanted, the style familiar.

It hath not been in my power to gather up the precise times of all the passages of this life, which I have mentioned; and for that reason I could not write it chronologically as I desired. But considering that here is little or nothing of the public, or state's matters, which may ever require a nice retrospection, I chose to proceed in a style of familiar conversation, and as one engaged to answer such questions concerning our Doctor, as may be obviously demanded. I said our doctor; for, to save often writing a few syllables, I shall

treat him under that title, although usurped, until forms procure us a better warrant. And as to the style aimed at here, I intend it not polite; if it be significant, it is well. It is hoped that the want of a formal distribution and subdivision of matters by book, chapter, and section will not be wanted here. The marginal numbers may be equivalent to titles of chapters; and then the series may be continual, after the model of the Dutch Le Clerc in his Parrasiana, whom (any more than the English Dr. Clarke) I would not follow in any thing but philology.

His parentele and relation.

Dr. John North was the fifth of seven sons of the Right Honourable Sir Dudley North, Knight of the Bath, Lord North, Baron of Kirtling, and Anne, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Charles Mountagu, a younger brother of the Boughton family. He was born at London, September 4, 1645, and had divers brothers and sisters, elder and younger; of whom, with the rest of his relation, which was widely extended among the chief of the nobility, a particular account is not here required; and thus much is mentioned only to show what, in the following account of his life, will be confirmed; viz. that the just value of an honourable descent received no diminution by his character.

Temperature of body and mind.

When he was very young, and also as he grew up, he was of a nice and tender constitution, not

so vigorous and athletic as most of his brothers were. His temper was always reserved and studious; for which reason his noble parents designed him early for the church. And the rather, because they observed him not inclined to those puerile irregularities, to which boys are ordinarily propense; but, with an unusual respect, he resigned himself entirely to the order of his parents, and particularly in their professionary disposition of him; and even at school, as well as at home, he behaved himself accordingly. If any thing so early seemed amiss in him, it was a non-natural gravity, which, in youths, is seldom a good sign; for it argues imbecility of body and mind, or both; but his lay wholly in the former, for his mental capacity was vigorous, as none more.

Passed Bury school under a loyal master in the worst times.

His scholastic education was altogether at St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, under Dr. Stephens, then master of an eminent school there. It was a piece of good fortune to be no forwarder; for his residence there fell in the dregs of time, when, after the martyrdom of King Charles I., a Babel of misshapen powers tormented the people of England, until the happy restoration of King Charles II. to the crown, and the nation to their laws: a fit time for a monastic retirement! The master was pedant enough, and noted for high flights in poetry and criticism, and what we now call jingling, not a little derived from the last age. All which quali-

ties were not amiss in his employment. The worst of him was, what his corpulence declared, the being a wet epicure, the common vice of bookish professions. We pass by his partialities (which were indeed scandalous, and pernicious to many of his scholars) because they happened to turn in favour of our doctor; for his master was exceedingly fond and proud of him. One happiness was, that he was a noted Cavalier, then the title of the king's friends, in opposition to the rebels, who, from a precise cut they affected, were styled Roundheads. In the worst of those times, the master, in his family, used the forms of loyalty and orthodoxy; but, being reputed little better than a malignant, he was forced to use outwardly an occasional conformity, by observing the church duties, and days of super-hypocritical fastings and seekings, wherewith the people, in those days, were tormented, though now worn out of almost all credibility; and he walked to church after his brigade of boys, there to endure the infliction of divers holders forth, tiring themselves and every body else: and by these means he made a shift to hold his school. It happened that, in the dawning of the Restoration, the cancer of the times mitigated; and one Dr. Boldero, formerly a captain in Scotland under Montrose, and, between the ladder and the rope, had narrowly escaped hanging, now in episcopal orders, kept a Church of

England conventicle in Bury, using the common-prayer; and our master often went to his congregation, and ordinarily took some of his boarders with him, of whom our doctor was, for the most part, one.

Parentele affects manners more than education. The doctor had both good.

There may be some doubt whether the genius of an education hath that mighty influence upon the conduct and morals of a future life, as commonly is reputed; for we see daily young people coming up in a strain directly opposite to the opinions and usages of their families. But yet it is to be accounted a felicity to enter the world in the right way, especially in a political sense; for party runs in families more than virtue or good manners: for strength of mind may get the better of all prejudices, and even of that which is the strongest, education. And I have reflected, that if our doctor (as I yet presume to style him) had been bred in the horrid din of exclamation against prelacy, Arminianism, and popery, as the mode of those times rang, he had such strength of reason, and bias towards truth, that, in his riper years, he could not have been a fanatic, whereof the composition was cross-grainedness, ambition, and malice. But herein I must distinguish parentele from education; for the latter affects chiefly those who are lazy in thinking, and, coming to man's estate, are glad to be determined any way, rather than endure the fatigue of a serious deliberation. But

from parentele are derived a depraved will, inclination to evil, and manners every way corrupt; which made a venerable gentleman, the honourable Mr. Henry Grey, use (in his particular phrase) to say often, "By G—d's iff, ware a breed." Herein our doctor appears to have had a double felicity, a righteous education, and parents of just and honourable principles, if any such ever were.

His picture in the Cavalier habit drawn by Mr. Blemwell.

After the happy Restoration, and while our doctor was yet at school, the master took occasion to publish his cavaliership by all the ways he could contrive; and one was putting all the boarders, who were of the chief families in the country, into red cloaks, because the cavaliers about the court usually wore such; and scarlet was commonly called the king's colour. Of these he had near thirty to parade before him, through that observing town, to church; which made no vulgar appearance. It fell out that, about that time, one Mr. Blemwell, a picture-drawer, resided at Bury. He was an early friend and acquaintance of Sir Peter Lely, who also spent some time at gentlemen's houses thereabouts. Mr. Blemwell was allowed of by Lely to have had a very good judgment in the art of picture, but his performances were not equal to his skill. He was a civil and well-bred gentleman, very well accepted and employed in the town and neighbourhood; and,

among others, he drew our doctor in his red cloak just as he wore it. And I cannot but appeal to this portrait, now in my custody, for demonstration of what I have alleged concerning his grave disposition. The countenance is modest and composed, copied from pure nature, wherein nothing is owing to the painter, for it was very like him. This little picture is the more to be esteemed, because there is no other; for he could never afterwards be prevailed upon to admit any to be made of him, as, in the course of this work, will be observed.

An amiable gravity, and countenance always florid.

He was much taken notice of for his amiable gravity; and after he grew up to man's estate, he retained a florid youthfulness in his countenance, of which more will be observed afterwards. In the mean time, this short relation may serve to interpret the bizarr posture and habit expressed in that picture. I may remember, for the credit of that scarlet troop, and their scholastic education, that not above one, or two, of the whole company, after they came to act in their country ministrations, proved anti-monarchic, or fanatic. The effect of which good inclination towards the person and government of king Charles II. during the greatest disorders in his reign, appeared in a celebrated union of the Suffolk gentry in opposition to the rage of an impetuous republican faction flagrant

in that country. The state of which strivings are represented in the Examen,* where it was requisite this mystery should be unfolded, in order to resolve the famous law case between Soams and Bernardiston.

A perfect school scholar; and of the discipline.

To return to our doctor; I need not stay to exaggerate his steps of proficiency in learning. It is enough to allege that he was an accomplished scholar, which the forwardness of his advancement afterwards demonstrated. It could scarce fall out otherwise with him, having good parts, and having run through the whole course of a large school, always diligently applied, and little diverted by play, as most of his age use to exceed in. And the methods of the school were no slight advantage; for the master required all his scholars to fill a quarter of a sheet of paper with their Latin themes, and write the English on the opposite page. At the presenting them, a desk was set in the middle of the school, where the boy stood and rehearsed his theme in Latin, or English, as was required: and at this act, a form or two of boys were called for up from the lower end, and placed by way of audience; and the master had opportunity to correct faults of any kind, pronunciation as well as composition. This discipline, used generally in free schools,

* *Examen*, p. 516 *et seq.*

might prevent an obloquy; as when it is said that, in the grand assemblies for English affairs, there are found many talkers, but very few speakers.

Before he went to Cambridge, his noble father read logic and metaphysics to him.

After the doctor left Bury school, he passed some time at his father's house before he went to the University; which time was not lost, for his father (according to the way he used with some other of his sons) read and interpreted to him a common logic, I think it was Molineus, with somewhat of metaphysics. This was some ease at his first entrance into the college; for many take such a distaste at what seems to them at first a mere rattle of words, that they are very slowly, if ever reconciled: as the scholar, that could not conquer the sense of homogene and heterogene, declared, "if he were once at home again, he would never come hither again." I ought not here to let pass the care and capacity of a nobleman who performed the office of an academic tutor to his sons, in order to ease their first undertakings at the university; of which there are not many examples.

Sent to Cambridge as fellow-commoner in Jesus College, then nobleman.

At length, in the year 1661, our doctor was sent to Cambridge, and planted in Jesus College, under the tutorage of Dr. Cook. At that time, Dr. Ferne was vice-chancellor, and our liturgy *non-con*, Dr. Boldero, master of Jesus; with whom a previous acquaintance at Bury (of Dr. Stephens at least) might be the inducement of his being placed there. He was admitted a fellow-com-

moner. But when his grandfather, the first Dudley Lord North, died, whereby the barony descended upon his father, he left the post of a fellow-commoner, and assumed that of a nobleman. But notwithstanding that, he was diligent in his studies, kept chapel, and in person performed most of his exercises as were consistent with his station in the college. His quality assured to him many advantages, especially in the way of preferment in the church. A master of arts of that college used to say, that he would give all he was worth to be a lord's son; meaning that such a one, of ordinary learning and morality, could not escape being, early or late, well preferred. This was no small encouragement to our doctor, who thought it an instance of his good fortune that his father outlived his grandfather; otherwise the advantage of precedence, &c. had come short of him.

Directed his studies for church preferments.

Here the doctor became settled in a severe course of study, which he pursued with all the ardour of one that knew nothing but his learning could make him considerable, or indeed capable to subsist as he desired; which the posture of his family, as will be observed, made him most sensible of. We read of primitive inducements to enter into holy orders, with open view of poverty and persecution; but now the case is altered; for the only inducements are plenty and preferment. And

since it is so, that the church is sought as a secular employment, we are not to expect, nor do we find, more rigour of life and practice in ecclesiastics, than in other common men who seek their preferment in other professions. Therefore it is very unjust, under this change of motives, that the cause of religion should in the least suffer, or be scandalised by the behaviour of particular clergymen. It is certain our doctor was embarked in that vessel; and as for behaviour in it, the rest of his life must show. At present we will leave him to his studies, and retreat awhile to consider his natural temper and propensities; such as, of one kind or other, all men living have, and which came into the world with them, and are in their power to alter no more than complexion or stature.

His natural infirmity was timidity.

The doctor's greatest, or rather only, infirmity was a natural timidity, owing to a feeble constitution of body, inclining to the effeminate. This, under some circumstances, and without a mind as vigorous and strong as his body was weak, might have oppressed him. He was always sensible of this weakness, and, during the whole course of his life, laboured to conquer it, and, as to outward appearance, prevailed; and what was insuperable lay dormant within himself. One would have expected that a youth at the university, no freshman, nor mean scholar, should have

got the better of being afraid in the dark; but it was not so with him, for when he was in bed alone, he durst not trust his countenance above the clothes. For some time he lay with his tutor, who once, coming home, found the scholar in bed with only his crown visible. The tutor, indiscreetly enough, pulled him by the hair; whereupon the scholar sunk down, and the tutor followed, and at last, with a great outcry, the scholar sprang up, expecting to see an enorm spectre.

Experiment of his conquering himself.

Another time, which was after he was fellow of the college, in a moon-shine night, he saw one standing in a white sheet. He surveyed it with all his optics, and was confirmed it was a spirit (as they call it), and resolved with himself, if he could, to find out what it came for. He got out of his bed, and being still of the same opinion, went nearer and nearer, till he might touch it; and then, reaching out his hand, he perceived it was only his towel, hung against the wall, with the moon shining full upon it; and then he went to bed and slept well. I have heard him say, that he was satisfied the devil could not discover any man's thoughts; else, he might shrewdly impose upon those who were inclined, like him, to be in that manner concerned. But it must be allowed that, in this instance, his strength of mind got the better of his bodily constitution, in forcing himself upon an experiment few would have cared to

have made. I mention not these passages as of themselves worth remembering, but to show that, as in the case of our doctor, a vigorous, active spirit may be quartered in a slight and feeble machine of flesh. But this propense disposition to fear had a worse effect upon his spirits when applied to the consequences of his life; and not only sullied his character by making him seem avaricious, but even shortened his days, as by the following relation will be made to appear.

His moral resolutions, and strict conduct of his small revenues.

He had in his nature a principle of justice and duty inexpugnable; and was fortified with a resolution not to run in debt, nor to help himself by any wicked compliances, whatever otherwise became of him. And while he was at the college, he just shifted with a small exhibition from his family; and if it had been less (according to his strict economy) he had still shifted; and more he did not expect, knowing that the hereditary honour must devour the fat of the land. And as to future preferments, nothing more uncertain. All his hopes hung upon mutable interests; and he found in himself but little inclination to courtship and flatteries for favours. His sheet anchor was the life of his life, a dear brother and friend, who might drop from him.* He had an ambition to be master of a good library, but scarce

* The Lord Keeper.

hoped ever to obtain it; and when he became able to make a small purchase of books, he was so far happy, and in himself pleased, that his management succeeded so well; which created in him a sort of joy in a perseverance, even after the just cause, by his being better provided for, ceased.

Successful care turns to pleasure habitual.

It is certain that studious and thoughtful men, having an honest principle, are apt over critically to weigh the contingencies of life, and possibilities of good or evil that may concern them; and as fears are always much stronger than hopes, commonly expect the worst; and that inclines them to act so as they think may best secure them; and in that course please themselves so long that, after all cause of fear removed, they continue the same caution, which becomes an habitual pleasure to them, and, towards old age, when wants are least, engenders a vice called covetousness; and the rather because that doth not contravene their principle of justice and honesty, according to the sentence of an old usurer, that used to say, "Saving was the lawfullest way of becoming rich."

The doctor's cares continued after the cause ceased.

This was literally the case of our doctor, who, by the ease he found in his mind out of a careful and saving course of life while it was most reasonable, could not forbear a hankering after the same way even when he was preferred to his heart's content, and thereby the former reason

ceased; for so the mind is, as it were, habitually gratified. But how well he conquered himself in that, as in all other instances of inclination contrary to right reason and the decorum of his estate, such as all men must have more or less, the following account must determine. In the mean time, to demonstrate how obnoxious learned men are to these impotencies, I may remember the famous Dr. Cave,* and Dr. Beaumont, men of gigantic knowledge, yet having rose from small beginnings, under the same passion towards increase, and their fame not much impeached thereby.

Made fellow of Jesus College much to his content.

But now, to recover our doctor, we find him at Jesus College settled in a fellowship, which he procured not long after he was capable. I find the entry thus, *Admissus est socius Coll. Jes. Mandato et Literis Regiis* 28 Sept. 1666, when he was about six years' standing in the college. That society is divided into north and south, and the order is to elect two into each vacancy either north or south, as it may happen, to be presented to the Bishop of Ely, who makes which he pleases fellow. The doctor came in the place of a northern man; and the bishop (then Wren) made an odd interpretation; for "It is strange," said he,

* The author of the *Lives of the Apostles, Lives of the Fathers*, &c. ob. 1713.

" that Mr. North should be looked upon as a northern man, who had nothing north about him but his name." Whether his lordship intended a compliment to the country, or to the scholar, is no profound question. This advancement was a great relief to the doctor's mind; for thereby he had a sort of home, with no small advantage in his economy, and all entirely consistent with his design of study, which he pursued with a full application.

His desire of a good library, and his advances that way.

Now he began to look after books, and to lay the foundation of a competent library. He dealt with Mr. Robert Scot of Little Britain, whose sister was his grandmother's woman; and, upon that acquaintance he expected, and really had from him useful information of books and the editions. This Mr. Scot was, in his time, the greatest librarian in Europe; for, besides his stock in England, he had warehouses at Frankfort, Paris, and other places, and dealt by factors. After he was grown old and much worn by multiplicity of business, he began to think of his ease and to leave off. Whereupon he contracted with one Mills of St. Paul's Church-yard near 10,000*l.* deep, and articled not to open his shop any more. But Mills, with his auctioneering, atlasses, and projects, failed, whereby poor Scot lost above half his means. But he held to his contract of not opening his shop, and, when he was in London,

for he had a country house, passed most of his time at his house amongst the rest of his books; and his reading (for he was no mean scholar) was the chief entertainment of his time. He was not only an expert bookseller, but a very conscientious good man; and when he threw up his trade, Europe had no small loss of him. Our doctor, at one lift, bought of him a whole set of Greek classics in folio, of the best editions. This sunk his stock at that time; but afterwards, for many years of his life, all that he could (as they say) rap or run went the same way. But the progress was small; for such a library as he desired, compared with what the pittance of his stock would purchase, allowing many years to the gathering, was of desperate expectation.

His opinion of books in general.

He was early sensible of a great disadvantage to him in his studies, by the not having a good library in his reach; and he used to say that a man could not be a scholar at the second hand: meaning that learning is to be had from the original authors, and not from any quotations, or accounts in other books; for men gather with divers views, and according to their several capacities, often perfunctorily, and almost always imperfectly: and through such slight reading, a student may know somewhat, but not judge of either author or subject. He used to say an old author could not be unprofitable; for although in

their proper time they had little or no esteem, yet, in after-times, they served to interpret words, customs, and other matters found obscure in other books; of which A. Gellius is an apt instance. He courted, as a fond lover, all best editions, fairest characters, best bound and preserved. If the subject was in his favour (as the classics) he cared not how many of them he had, even of the same edition, if he thought it among the best, either better bound, squarer cut, neater covers, or some such qualification caught him. He delighted in the small editions of the classics by Seb. Gryphius; and divers of his acquaintance, meeting with any of them, bought and brought them to him; which he accepted as choice presents, although perhaps he had one or two of them before. He said that the black italic character agreed with his eye-sight (which he accounted but weak) better than any other print, the old Elzevir not excepted, whereof the characters seemed to him more blind and confused than those of the other. Continual use gives men a judgment of things comparatively; and they come to fix on what is most proper and easy; which no man, upon cursory view, would determine.

His industry in collecting Latin.

His soul was never so staked down as in an old bookseller's shop; for having (as the statutes of the college required) taken orders, he was restless till he had compassed some of that sort of furniture,

as he thought necessary for his profession. He was, for the most part, his own factor, and seldom or never bought by commission; which made him lose time in turning over vast numbers of books; and he was very hardly pleased at last. I have borne him company at shops for hours together, and, minding him of the time, he hath made a dozen proffers before he would quit. By this care and industry, at length he made himself master of a very considerable library, wherein the choicest collection was Greek.

Alterations for worse in the bookselling trade.

It may not be amiss to step a little aside to reflect on the vast change in the trade of books, between that time and ours.* Then Little Britain was a plentiful and perpetual emporium of learned authors; and men went thither as to a market. This drew to the place a mighty trade; the rather because the shops were spacious, and the learned gladly resorted to them, where they seldom failed to meet with agreeable conversation. And the booksellers themselves were knowing and conversible men, with whom, for the sake of bookish knowledge, the greatest wits were pleased to converse. And we may judge the time as well spent there, as (in latter days) either in tavern or

* As to the state of the bookselling trade in the year 1666, after the great fire of London, see a curious letter from Evelyn to Lord Clarendon. (*Evelyn's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 172.)

coffee-house; though the latter hath carried off the spare hours of most people. But now this emporium is vanished, and the trade contracted into the hands of two or three persons, who, to make good their monopoly, ransack, not only their neighbours of the trade that are scattered about town, but all over England, ay and beyond sea too, and send abroad their circulators, and in that manner get into their hands all that is valuable. The rest of the trade are content to take their refuse, with which, and the fresh scum of the press, they furnish one side of a shop, which serves for the sign of a bookseller, rather than a real one; but, instead of selling, deal as factors and procure what the country divines and gentry send for; of whom each hath his book-factor, and, when wanting any thing, writes to his bookseller, and pays his bill. And it is wretched to consider what pickpocket work, with help of the press, these demi-booksellers make. They crack their brains to find out selling subjects, and keep hirelings in garrets, at hard meat, to write and correct by the great; and so puff up an octavo to a sufficient thickness, and there is six shillings current for an hour and a half's reading, and perhaps never to be read or looked upon after. One that would go higher, must take his fortune at blank walls, and corners of streets, or repair to the sign of Bateman, Innys, and one or two more,

where are best choice, and better pennyworths. I might touch other abuses, as bad paper, incorrect printing, and false advertising; all which and worse is to be expected, if a careful author is not at the heels of them. But I fear I am led by these too far out of my way.

I return therefore to our doctor, who, in his studies, was very regular, and took his authors one after another, and pursued effectually through them, not leaving behind any passage which he did not understand, or at least criticise upon as far as he could reach. He noted as he went along, but not in the common way by common-place; but every book severally, setting down whatever he found worthy to be observed in that book. And these he kept by themselves, as comments upon his authors, till he had a considerable body of them: but they are all confounded by a deplorable sentence, of which I shall give an account afterwards.

Read thro' noted, but not common-placed his authors.

Greek became almost vernacular to him, and he took no small pains to make himself master of the Hebrew language, and seldom failed carrying a Hebrew bible (but pointed) to chapel with him. He was a notable husband of his time, and contrived to make his very scraps, and intercalary minutes, profitable; and accordingly, during those short intervals between dressing and dinner, and such like attendances, when he could not engage

Applied to the tongues, and lost no time.

in the texture of his study, he used to get the best penned English books, and read them aloud; which he said he did to form and improve his English style and pronunciation. And on such occasions he used to say, "It was pity to lose any of his time." And for the advantage of his Latin, he used to keep his accounts in that language, and as near the classic as he could.

Made society instructive.

He had a very researching spirit, that would not rest, even in ordinary company and conversation; for with such as studied, he never failed to ask, or propose, some points of literature; and then, by throwing out his own sentiments, fish for the reasons and opinions of the company; and thereby, perhaps, found occasion to correct himself as to some oversights, or mistakes he had been guilty of. In short; there was not an opportunity that fell in his way, whereby he might improve himself, which he willingly let slip. And all this derived from a native good sense: he had nobody at his heels to urge him forward. His tutor was passive, and the scholar soon fell to shift for himself, as a bird that had learned to pick alone, and, having tasted the fruit of knowledge, pursued it with an uninterrupted perseverance.

Empty discourse and pastime not to his taste.

And somewhat less of that might have been better for him. He kept himself bent with perpetual thinking and study, which manifestly impaired his health. Even conversation, which re-

lieved others, was to him an incentive of thought. He was sensible of this, but did not affect any expedients of relief to his mind. I have heard him say that he believed if Sir Isaac Newton had not wrought with his hands in making experiments, he had killed himself with study. A man may so engage his mind as almost to forget he hath a body which must be waited upon and served: the doctor could overlook in himself what plainly appeared to him in others. After dinners and in evenings, he kept company with the fellows and fellow commoners in the garden; but not long, for he could not be pleased with such insipid pastime as bowls, or less material discourse, such as town tales, or punning, and the like.

Attempted music upon the organ, but failed.

The doctor had no favourite diversion, or manual exercise, to rest his mind a little, which he held bent with continual thinking. His parents, who were much addicted to music, recommended that to him for a diversion, and particularly the noble organ, as the fullest, and not only a complete solitary concert, but most proper for an ecclesiastic. And indeed, if study had not had the upper hand of all his intendments, he must of course have taken up in that way, his parents themselves being so fond of it. For after the care of prayers and meals, nothing was more constant and solemn than music was in that family. He was sensible the advice was very good, and accordingly got a

small organ into his chamber at Jesus College, and suffered himself to be taught a lesson or two, which he practised over when he had a mind to be unbent; but he made no manner of advance, and one accident put him out of all manner of conceit of it. His under neighbour was a morose and importune master of arts; and one night the doctor could not sleep; and thought to fit himself for it by playing upon his organ. The bellows knocking on the floor, and the hum of the pipes, made a strange din at midnight, and the gentleman below, that never heard it so before, could not tell what to make of it; but, at length, he found it out to be his neighbour's organ. And thereupon, to retaliate this night's work, got out of his bed, and, with his two couple of bowls, went to bowls by himself. This made a much louder noise than the organ, and the doctor was as much at a loss to know what that meant, but, suspecting how the case stood, he left off, and scarce ever touched his organ after. The pleasure of music is like that of books, never true and good, unless easily and familiarly read, and performed; and then nothing is more medicinal to a crazy and fatigued mind than that. *

The doctor had found out one petit entertain-

* "A solemn air is the best comforter
To an unsettled fancy." *Tempest.*

ment in his study besides books; and that was keeping of great house spiders in wide-mouthed glasses, such as men keep tobacco in. When he had them safe in hold, he supplied them with crumbs of bread, which they ate rather than starve: but their regale was flies, which he sometimes caught and put to them. When their imprisonment appeared inevitable, they fell to their trade of making webs, and made large expansions and more private recesses. It pleased him to observe the animals manage their interest in the great work of taking their prey. If it was a small fly given them, no more ceremony but take and eat him; but if a great master flesh-fly, then to work, twenty courses round, and perhaps not come near him, for he had claws sharp as cat's; and, after divers starts to and fro, a web was with a hind leg dexterously clapped over two or three of his legs. After all his claws were in that manner secured, then, at a running pull, a broad web was brought over him, which bound him hand and foot; and, by being fixed to the spider's tail, the fly was carried off into one of his inmost recesses, there to be feasted upon at leisure.

Diverted himself with feeding spiders in great glasses.

Spiders, like other creatures of prey, eat one another, and, for their continual design of eating, are paid by a continual dread of being eaten. Two old spiders will not be kept in one glass, unless accidentally known to each other, or, it may

Their course of life, and casting their skin.

be, male and female; but to work they go, coursing about till the one hath got the better of the other, and then falls to, and heartily feeds upon him. They breed numerously; and the young ones, after the example of their fathers, use the same trade. The danger, as well as fear, is common to all. There is little regard to relation or families; and for that reason, like pikes in a pond, none ever takes a prey, but he turns suddenly round, lest another should take him. When the young are hatched, and can run about, they lie still, waiting for advantages over the rest, and care not rashly to expose themselves. If they are disturbed, and some made to run, the whole nation is alarmed, and many a life falls in the disorder before the wars cease; and then each, that survives, makes merry with his booty. Thus their numbers are reduced to a very few, who find means of retreating into castles of their own making. They cast their skins at certain periods; and the manner of doing it is remarkable. They hang themselves to the ceiling of their web, with their body downwards, and, holding themselves fast up by all their legs brought together, remain striving and pulling each leg, till it comes out of the hose, and their body is freed from its case; and then they turn and run away, leaving their old coat in their place; as we often see them hanging in cobwebs. The signal to them, of this change coming

on, is a dry parting of the skin upon their backs;* whereupon they fall to work as was described. The doctor used to divert us with describing the course of life which his poor prisoners led.

Witty in company, but rigidly sober.

When the doctor was abroad, and absent from his studies, either by visits, friendly meetings, or attendances, his chief delight was in discourse. And he would apply himself to all sorts of company in a brisk and smart manner; for he was very just and ready in his speech, facetious and fluent; and his wit was never at a nonplus. I have known him at Act, keeping suppers as merry as the best, and though he drank little, or nothing, he sparkled and reparteed, not only saving himself harmless (for the sober man is commonly the mark), but returning the bite. His sobriety was so extraordinary, that, with entire assurance I can affirm that never in all his life did he know what a cup too much (as they term it) was. And this continence was more singular in him who was really a wit in conversation, and his company desired by all people that knew him; and it is well known how much such qualifications seduce men to come under the jurisdiction of the bottle. But this abstemiousness in extremity proved of ill consequence to his health, as will be showed in fit place.

Affected congresses with foreigners and virtuosi.

When any eminent and extraordinary persons came to the university, of whom some had consi-

derable recommendations, and, for the better knowledge of it, made some short residence there, and were by divers gentlemen civilly entertained, whether Swedish or Hungarian clergy, Oxonians, or other home-bred virtuosi; the doctor very often, as he desired, made one in the conversation; whereby he thought to gather somewhat out of the common road. And, being desired, he often wrote, in the pocket-book of a foreigner, a sentence with his name; and that implies a small token, which I know well, being once induced by him to do the like. I remember one Mr. Wagstaff, a little gentleman, had an express audience, at a very good dinner, upon the subject of spectres, and much was said pro and con; but I carried away little except a good meal. The doctor often, upon such occasions as these, took me along with him; which was much for my advantage, if I had been capable of making a true use of it. But as for the spectre affair, it was not long before the gentleman published his notions in a little book of witchcraft.*

Left the common room, and past evenings in private society.

At length the doctor declined the common parlour, and spent the evenings in private society, sometimes at Dr. Shereman's the president's, and not seldom with his old master Dr. Stephens,

* *The Question of Witchcraft debated,* by John Wagstaffe, 2nd edit. 1671.

who lived in the house over against the college. This agreed best with his humour, who did not love morosity and sour looks. He was always jocose and free in his ordinary conversation; and that made him very popular with the airy folks, as young gentlemen, and even with the fair sex; for he was a comely person, and withal very decently behaved, and respectful, which set off his wit; and with that he always made them an agreeable diversion. Whatever his company was, he was always ready with proper discourse, and, as I said, no niggard of it. If he moved subjects that seemed slight, yet he had a design at the bottom, either to exercise some useful talent of his own, or to squeeze somewhat useful out of others; and for that reason he affected most the acquaintance and society of such as were in station and learning his superiors.

Affected the society of the young quality, and why.

Next to those, he affected to refresh himself with the society of the young noblemen and fellow-commoners; and he used to say that he found more of candour and sincerity in them than in the graver sort. And for the like reason he inclined to those of the ancienter families, though he owned that the better parts were found with the latter. Sorting himself with these, he took great delight to oppose their raw wits with enigmatic questions, and often out of the classics. I have seen him as merry as a school-boy with

a knot of them, like the younglings about old Silenus, in deep consult about reconciling that passage in Ovid —— "*Sine pondere habentia pondus.*"

Among those his choice was nice.

He was more attached to those who were noted for study and learning extraordinary, as Mr. Wal—le, Sir Edm—d B——n, &c. which latter was a stout and early pretender to free-thinking. The doctor used to pump him to fetch up his most reserved reasonings, and used to say that he found such conversation profitable, because it made him digest matters in his own mind more effectually than, not being opposed, he could have done. He was very intimate with Mr. Hatton a fellow-commoner, afterwards Sir Christopher. He was of a merry and free disposition, and suited the doctor's humour exactly; the rather because he found at the bottom of him a sound judgment, and notable censure of most incidents; I might as well say persons. I have heard the doctor say, that that gentleman had more good sense and understanding than many were able to discern.

Advanced his acquaintance in London. His sharpness upon the ladies.

These were his university society; but, in and about London, he fell into more considerable and important acquaintance: for when he gave himself the satisfaction to reside a little with his best brother in London, he was introduced (and a small inlet served) to list him in a spacious

catalogue of virtuosi. As the Capels and Godolphins; first, Mr. Sidney Godolphin of the Middle Temple, a very ingenious person, and master of an exquisite library, which to rummage was always a feast to the doctor. After the death of this gentleman, his brother Mr. Charles succeeded him, as well in his chamber and library, as in the doctor's acquaintance; and continued in the same chamber, until by the fire most unfortunately begun over head, he was burnt out, and his choice collection of books consumed. I shall venture to name one or two more; the first was Sir John King, who was a Tully in Westminster-Hall.* Then Mr. William Longueville,† in polite knowledge, as well as skill in the law, inferior to none; and, what exceeds all, of untainted integrity. And I might mention some ladies with whom he pretended to be innocently merry and free; and indeed more so (often) than welcome; as when he touched the pre-eminencies of their sex. As, for instance, saying that of all the beasts of the field God Almighty thought woman the fittest companion for man. I have known him demand of the ladies at the upper end of the table, by right of their sitting there, that they would carve for him; "Else," said he,

* For some account of Sir John King, see the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. ii. p. 190.

† Vide, *ib.* p. 188.

"let them come down to their places at the lower end." These passages, and the like, show somewhat of his humour, which made him very popular with the ladies and young company. For notwithstanding all his seriousness and study, none ever was more agreeably talkative, in fit company, than he was.

Meditated changing his college, and why.

But whatever was the cause, he had no relish at all for the conversation of his fellow collegiates; and they, I presume, had as little for his. He might not conform in their measures, or methods of living; or there being a seeming inequality betwixt them, by his place in the university, and advantages with respect to preferment; and his consorting rather with the younger gentlemen than the grave, and, as he thought, perhaps, empty seniors of the college, and affecting a select company of the learneder sort in other colleges: all these ingredients turned sour, and jealousies, suspicions, and reflections, with morose countenances, bred out of them; so that he desired, if possible, without his great inconvenience, to remove himself to some other college, where, as he proposed, he might pass his time more agreeably.

Preferred by the Archbishop of Canterbury to a sinecure in Wales.

And in this he was gratified by the fortune of a preferment which fell to his share. It was a sinecure in Wales, being a moiety of the tithes of Llandinon. He had the good fortune to be capable of preferment in the church, when Dr. Shel-

don was Archbishop of Canterbury.* That prelate was a friend to quality, but more to scholarship and good order, and could not overlook one come forward in the university, and so well recommended as the doctor was: and of his own motion, without any solicitation, or so much as notice on the doctor's part, conferred this sinecure upon him, and at the same time declared that he chose to give him that, rather than any other preferment; meaning such as in consequence might have removed him out of his station of learning and study in the university. And for the same reason it was most suitable to the doctor's own inclinations; for it set him free, with a power uncontrollable to settle himself in what way he pleased.

His behaviour in concerns more public.

I have hitherto dealt enough with the slighter circumstances of our doctor's character. But we

* "Sheldon," says Burnet, "was esteemed a learned man before the wars, but he was now engaged so deep in politics, that scarce any prints of what he had been remained. He was a very dexterous man in business; had a great quickness of apprehension, and a very true judgment. He was a generous and charitable man. He had a great pleasantness of conversation, perhaps too great. He had an art that was peculiar to him, of treating all that came to him in a most obliging manner; but few depended much on his professions of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy. By these means the king came to look on him as a wise and honest clergyman."—(*Own Time*, vol. i. p. 294.)

must now advance to affairs of greater importance. As to the public, and the orders of the university about congregations and elections, which matters used to call the scholars from their studies into faction and party-making; the doctor was always disposed to be quiet, and little concerned himself with them. He held a due respect to superiors, especially in politicals; and in all his behaviour and conversation in the university, he showed an innate hatred of popular faction; as well that which had been seminated all over England, and began to appear in the university against the court and government of King Charles II., as also all those perverse and contradictory doings in his time, too much agitated with intent to cross the heads, or some as irrational designs. I have heard him say that he wondered men professing philosophy and learning, should not judge, but follow one another, like a rabble, blindly, as if they had not the use of thinking. And he used to say sharper things; but, for the sake of our *alma mater*, I forbear.

Generally esteemed, observer of order and lectures, and his opinion of them.

Few persons ever had more propitious circumstances of recommendation, to render him esteemed, than the doctor had; for besides his person and countenance seeming always juvenile and flourishing, his relation to many noble families, being an excellent scholar, industrious, sober without interruption, and, in his manners, devo-

ted to all good order, religion, and virtue, set him upon an eminence, and so many not common symptoms of speedy preferment, made him be more than ordinarily observed, and (perhaps) envied. Nothing observed of him turned more to his credit than his due attendance at public exercises and lectures of most faculties in the schools, which was an unusual, but very profitable diligence. I have been told this observation of him by some of our neighbour ministers that were his contemporaries, and also that great account was made of him for it, amongst them who know little besides such remarkables of him. His opinion was that, since books are so frequent as now they are, public lectures are not so necessary, or (perhaps) useful, as in elder times, when first instituted, because the intent of them was to supply the want of books; and now books are plentiful, lectures might better be spared, and the promiscuous use of books come in the place of them.

Kept chapel, and followed no coffee-house.

The doctor conformed to all the orders of the college, seldom ate out of the hall, and then upon a fish-day only, being told it was for his health. He was constantly at the chapel prayers, so much as one may say that, being in town, he never failed. This, in the morning, secured his time; for he went from thence directly to his study, without any sizing or breakfast at all. Whilst he was at Jesus College, coffee was not of such common use

as afterwards, and coffee-houses but young.* At that time, and long after, there was but one, kept by one Kirk. The trade of news also was scarce set up; for they had only the public Gazette, till Kirk got a written news-letter circulated by one Muddiman. But now the case is much altered; for it is become a custom, after chapel, to repair to one or other of the coffee-houses (for there are divers) where hours are spent in talking; and less profitable reading of newspapers, of which swarms are continually supplied from London. And the scholars are so greedy after news (which is none of their business), that they neglect all for it; and it is become very rare for any of them to go directly to his chamber after prayers, without doing his suit at the coffee-house; which is a vast loss of time grown out of a pure novelty, for who can apply close to a subject with his head full of the din of a coffee-house? I cannot but think that since coffee, with most, is become a morning refreshment, the order, which I knew once established at Lambeth House, or somewhat like it, might be introduced into the colleges; which was for the chaplains, and gentlemen officers to meet every morning in a sort of still-house, where a good woman provided them their liquors as they liked best; and this they called their coffee-house.

* See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, vol. i, p. 316

The doctor's common-placing, which is a sort of dissertation upon some learned subject, in the chapel, was a sort of preface to his attempting to preach; but he used a precaution more positive; for before he went into orders, he procured a pulpit at one of the villages near Cambridge, usually served by a fellow of the college, and there preached once or twice. This he did to prove his forces, and acquire some assurance, before he undertook to perform more publicly. The first sermon, that he preached in a solemn audience, was before the king at Newmarket, upon a mission from the university.* That was a severe trial of his spirits, and he went with great reluctance of mind; but reason and resolution prevailed; and he was not abashed at so great a presence. He said that he made it a law to himself to confine his view, above the people, to a certain space which he was not to exceed; and, in speaking to a multitude, it is a good rule to mind none of them. The sermon is in print by John Hayes, 1671. The text was the first verse of the first Psalm, and the discourse moral, fit for an assembly not over-zealous that way. The king was pleased to signify his approval of it by say-

Proved his forces in the pulpit, and preached before King Charles II.

* Evelyn also notices a sermon preached before the king by Doctor North, whom he terms "a very young but learned and excellent person." (*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 483.)

ing, as he came out of the church, that "the preacher would soon be a bishop." And if his majesty had lived a little longer, he might have proved himself a prophet; but his, as well as the doctor's, untimely death, fell in the way of that event. The ladies also were pleased to accept the doctor's discourse. One of them, being asked how she liked Mr. North's sermon, said, that "he was a handsome man, and had pretty doctrine."

Made his father's chaplain recant a vile heresy.

The doctor had an opportunity of exercising his divinity faculty upon one of his father's chaplains. His father, as had been sometimes used in that family, wrote formally to the University of Cambridge for a chaplain; and they sent him one Kitch——n, a townsman's son. He was very illiterate, but thought to supply that defect by extraordinary giftedness, and behaved himself so fanatically that he was not to be endured. After him came a brother of his, thought to be a little better scholar, and looking a little more like a minister of the English church. This latter, when the doctor was present, preached most damnable heresy; viz. that our blessed Saviour was the carnal son of Joseph. This nettled our young divine; and immediately after he had dined, he took him to task in his chamber, and so tutored him that he thought fit, the next Sunday, to preach a recantation sermon, begging God's pardon, and the congregation's excuse, for his vile

error and heresy unthinkingly preached the Sunday before.

The doctor was no great traveller; but sometimes he affected to go abroad, and, if he had his choice, always on horseback; for he fancied that exercise good for his health, and particularly in the case of the gravel, with which he was troubled. Between Cambridge and his father's house, and to and from London, were the chief of his journeys. If his post was in the coach, he chose to change with a horseman. Once, after riding a very long journey, he came into the room in the inn where the company was, and threw himself down upon the bed. "Now," said he, "I have the pleasure of being very weary." He often visited Sir Roger Burgoign, a virtuous and learned gentleman, near Cambridge. And once, at the instance of his mother, he made a visit to the Lady Hatton, her sister, at Kerby in Northamptonshire. He found his aunt there, forsaken by her husband the old Lord Hatton. He lived in Scotland-yard, and diverted himself with the company and discourse of players and such idle people that came to him, while his family lived in want at Kerby. He had committed the whole conduct there to a favourite daughter, who was not over-kind to her mother. This noble lord had bright parts, and professed also to be religious; for he published the book of Psalms, with a prayer suitable to each, formed by

Some of the doctor's journeys.

himself; which book is called Hatton's Psalms, and may be found in the closets of divers devout persons. Such difference is often found between men's pretensions and actions. The famous Nando M——m used, in his drink, to curse him for writing psaumes (as he termed it) and not paying a debt due to him.

The Lord Hatton's piety towards his desolate mother.

The good old lady gave her nephew as good entertainment as she could; that is, took him into hugger mugger in her closet, where she usually had some good pye, or plumb cake, which her neighbours, in compassion, sent her in; for the house-keeping was very mean, and she had not the command of any thing. When her lord died, the care of her, and of the whole family, and the ruined estate of it, devolved upon that truly noble person her eldest son, who, by an unparalleled prudence and application, repaired the shattered estate, set his brother* (the incomparable Charles Hatton) and his sisters at ease. And his signal and pious care of his good mother is never to be forgot: for he took her, destitute of all jointure and provision, home to him, and entertained her with all the indulgence and comfort he could. And the lady was pleased to declare that

* [This gentleman is mentioned in the Lord Keeper's Life with the same encomium; but I cannot yet find by any of the author's papers upon what account.] *Note in the first edition.*

the latter end of her age was the beginning of the true comfort of her life.

A providential reward for it.

It may be observed by those that know much of times, and read the historical accounts given of them to posterity, that many, and perhaps the most important passages, are not to be found in the histories. As in topography, some, but not half of the remarkables of a country are to be found. Where, in our most voluminous writers, to say no worse, do we find an account of the providential escape of this noble lord? I must profess that, in my judgment, considering his apparent goodness and merit, and the tremendous calamity that fell upon his family from the hand of Heaven, his person was almost miraculously preserved. There never was an incident more indicative of a special providence than this was. Therefore I may be excused if I give here a short memorandum of it. His lordship was governor of Guernsey, and settled, with his family, in the castle. There was his mother, his then wife (the Countess of Thanet's daughter), and divers of his children, and many servants. The castle stood upon the rocks washed by the sea; and one night, when all were in bed, and his lordship and his lady asleep, a storm of thunder fired the magazine of gunpowder, and blew up the whole fabric; his mother and wife, and some of his children, and some others, were killed

right out. His lordship, in his bed, was carried and lodged upon the castle wall, whence was a dismal precipice among the rocks into the sea. His lordship, perceiving a mighty disorder, was going to step out of his bed to know what the matter was; which if he had done, he had been irrecoverably lost, but in the instant of his moving, a flash of lightning came and showed him the precipice; whereupon he lay still, till people came and took him down. And so was this noble lord wonderfully, or rather, as I said, miraculously, preserved.

Journey to his sinecure, and kind entertainment in Wales.

The greatest of the doctor's travels was into Wales, to visit and be possessed of his sinecure of Llandinon. His design was to have gone incognito, but by means of an extraordinary civility, he was discovered, and then he was forced to receive a great deal more; for falling among the Morgans and Mansells, who honoured him with a claim of kindred, he could not pass without being generously entertained. He came to a Welsh village (to say no worse) in order to lodge for one night; and the gentleman, that lived in the town, being informed that a genteel young parson was come to lodge at the alehouse, sent and invited him to take a hard bed (as they say) at his house. The doctor complied, and, after his name, relation, and errand was squeezed out of him, he must submit to be conducted from

house to house, company of the country attending; and at some he stayed a week, or less, as need required; for he made himself acceptable every where, conforming to the ordinary ways of entertainment in use there, and consistent with his character. Sometimes, in the afternoon, they went to a clean, but mean alehouse, and the maid, that served the Welsh ale, usually made a curtsy, and drank to the best in the company, who kissed her, and so the frolic went round. But once, coming to the doctor, he drank his cup, but omitted the ceremony that was to follow. The maid, who perhaps had more mind to the smooth-chinned parson than to any of the rest, made him a curtsy, and "Sir," said she, "I perceive you do like no Wels'oman." I remember the doctor told us that, when he came to his parish, he found the humour of the people very different from what, on like occasions, was often found in England. For instead of grumbling at, and affronting, a new tithemonger come down amongst them, too often known in English villages, the parishioners came about and hugged him, calling him their pastor, and telling him they were his sheep. After he had made his escape from his many good landlords, he got him back to his college as fast as he could.

Whilst the doctor passed some of his time at his best brother's house in Oxfordshire, he desired to

His voyage to Oxford, acquaintance and entertainment there.

make use of that opportunity to visit the University of Oxford, and to make himself acquainted with some of the eminent men there. So we equipped, and fell in, on the road, with a reverend divine, one Dr. Hutton, fellow of a college, and minister of Aynhoe on the Hill, who was bound for the same port. Neither he, nor our doctor, knew each other but by rumour. But as travellers, for their pastime on the road, love to get acquainted, so they began a sort of amity, as well as familiarity. This was a most propitious incident; for Dr. Hutton, not only entertained us most humanely, but attended the doctor in his visits of the colleges and schools, and introduced him into the knowledge of the heads of the university, and particularly the great Dr. Fell, who was truly great in all his circumstances, capacities, undertakings, and learning, and above all for his superabundant public spirit and good will, which shined in his care of youth, especially those of quality, in the university. O, the felicity of that age and place, when his authority swayed! He led us about, and showed his printing-office, and talked of his designs there, and the discourse fell wholly upon learning, books, and learned men, But I was not capable to bring away much, and remember none; and, for that reason, do not take upon me to account for any thing at all of it. But I am sure our doctor was much caressed,

and, with those persons whom he happened to converse with, seeming the most considerable, was courted as one whose conversation they apparently affected to compass and enjoy.

Removed to Trinity College, to be near the master, Dr. Barrow.

The addition of this Welsh preferment, being, as I take, a cure of souls, though a vicar endowed exercised it, might second the doctor's desires to change his college, as being incompatible with his fellowship, on which account only I believe he stayed so long there. Thereupon he procured himself to be admitted of Trinity College, had a chamber assigned him, and removed all his effects thither. He used to allege many reasons for his choice of that college; as that he valued much the company of that society, where resided many excellent persons; and he perceived more of the humane and polite in that than in the lesser colleges. But, above all, the leading card was the value he had for the more than thrice excellent master, Dr. Barrow. He had long ago contracted a familiar acquaintance, I may say friendship, with him, and they used each other in a most delightful communication of thoughts. The good Dr. Barrow ended his days in London, in a prebend's house that had a little stair to it out of the cloisters, which made him call it a man's nest, and I presume it so called at this day.* The master's

* Dr. Pope tells us that he died "in mean lodgings at a sadler's near Charing Cross, an old, low, ill built house, which he

disease was a high fever. It had been his custom, contracted when (upon the fund of a travelling fellowship) he was at Constantinople, in all his maladies, to cure himself with opium; and, being very ill (probably) he augmented his dose, and so inflamed his fever, and at the same time obstructed the crisis: for he was as a man knocked down, and had the eyes as of one distracted. Our doctor, seeing him so, was struck with horror; for he, that knew him so well in his best health, could best distinguish; and, when he left him, he concluded he should see him no more alive; and so it proved.

Made master of Trinity upon the death of Dr. Barrow, which proved a burthen.

After the death of this most worthy person, our doctor had the mastership of Trinity conferred upon him; and thereby was possessed, as he thought, of all the ease and content he could by any means propose to himself; and from thence he dated, as from an epocha, the repose he had in present, and in future hoped to enjoy. He accounted himself very well settled, when he lived as a common master of arts in the college, without any aid from the revenues of the society. What

had used for several years; for though his condition was much bettered by his obtaining the mastership of Trinity College, yet that had no bad influence upon his morals; he still continued the same humble person, and could not be prevailed upon to take more respectable lodgings." (*See the Biographia Brit.*, vol. i. p. 634.)

then must the alteration be when he was master, and had so great an increase of revenues and accommodation as that station afforded? But oh, the difference between a private condition and magistracy! Before, when the doctor had no charge of government upon his spirits, but of himself and his studies only, he was in all respects easy. But after this preferment, than which nothing could have more nicely suited his desires, he fell under such gnawing cares and anxieties, that he had small joy of his life; and it was really shortened thereby; of which in its proper place. He was (to speak ironically) so unadvised as to think of duty and justice in government; and, for that reason, he ought to be made, as he was, an example for the terror of others who, by rare chance, may fall under the mistake of such bad maxims. But here we are a little too forward.

Laboured in the Greek, and was made professor, and his sentiments.

During his former residence in Trinity College, the doctor persevered in his application to the Greek literature; and his time and pains therein were not lost, for he made such advances that he was reputed one of the best Grecians in the university. And accordingly, in November 1672, he was elected Greek professor. That service obliged to read lectures publicly in the schools at appointed times; which he performed most punctually, and thereby confirmed the opinion that was preconceived of him; for he was really a prime

critic in that language. He used to say that a due knowledge of the Greek tongue was absolutely necessary for a divine: and as the Grecian, so the divine. He much wondered to see that skill so much slighted and laid aside as it was by the clergy in general. For his part, he did not see with what face a man could pretend to be of the clergy, and not understand Greek; since, not only the New Testament, but most of the eminent ecclesiastical writers were in Greek: and the idiom of that language (not justly transferable into any common speech) gives the greatest light towards clearing obscure questions in divinity. Latin, and the vernaculars westward, which are almost all deduced under it, carry nearly the same idiom; but the Orientals and Greek partake not so much of them.

Of Dr. Duport's congratulatory poem.

There is a notable recognition of our doctor's skill in Greek, left by Dr. Duport his predecessor, who was a famous Grecian.* It is a congratulatory poem upon our doctor's election; and it is to be found printed among his poems in octavo, by John Hayes, 1676, and it was designed as a compliment for the doctor's honour, who, by many, was thought too young for that post. This poem might pass very well, but for one pun, which is this,

——— comicique Nubes
Profligas, Aquilo, et facis sudum.

So because Boreas in Homer is a clearer of the

* He was the tutor of Barrow.

air, North must interpret Aristophanes' comedy, entitled Nubes, and, by the style of Aquilo, make clear weather. This Dr. Duport was a very little man, and inclined strangely to such little conceits. Even in the chair, when he was deputed *regius professor* of divinity, and styled *pater*, he could not forbear saying, "*Sum paterculus, sed non Velleius.*" But bating him that acc, he was truly a great man.

Our doctor, before he was master of Trinity, or had any preferment of the gift of the crown, waited as clerk of the closet to King Charles II. That post was not only a sure track to preferment in the church, but agreed exceeding well with his humour; for there he lived upon a hill, and saw how the world went, and, withal, had his cell to retire to, which was a very convenient lodging in Whitehall, upon the parade of the court, near the presence chamber. His diet was provided for him; and the chaplains in waiting were company to his wish. At the beginning he was in danger of being troubled with impertinent visits; which had proved cross to him, whose design and pastime was reading and thinking; for at court there is always a sort of people whose day labour is having nothing to do, and who are apt to say, "Come, shall we go and spend half an hour with Mr. Clerk of the Closet?" and, adding, "to drink a glass of wine, or ale," who could resist? But he had a caution given him by a friendly old courtier,

Formerly was clerk of the closet to King Charles II.

not to entertain at his chamber upon any account, not so much as with small beer in hot weather; for if he did, his quiet would forsake him. All advice is acceptable to those who are inclined beforehand to take it; as the doctor was, who lived, like a hermit in his cell, in the midst of the court, and proved the title of a foolish French writer, *La solitude de la cour*.

Dealt as a confessor to some devout people at Whitehall.

I have heard him say that, in times before the Reformation, by institution, or usage, the clerk of the closet was the proper confessor of the court. And when he resided there, divers persons, far from Papists, especially ladies, who thought auricular confession, though no duty, a pious practice, applied to him for like purposes, and to ease their minds. And he as piously conformed, and did the office of a pastor, or *parochus* of the court. I have also heard him say that, for the number of persons that resided in the court, a place reputed a centre of all vice and irreligion, he thought there were as many truly pious and strictly religious, as could be found in any other resort whatsoever. And he never saw so much fervent devotion, and such frequent acts of piety and charity, as his station gave him occasion to observe there. It often falls out that extremes are conterminous, and as contraries illustrate each other, so here virtue and vice. Therefore it is not reasonable to condemn aggregates of any denomination, or the individuals

separately, for the practices of some, although they may be the ruling party amongst them.

During this sunshine of favour, the doctor obtained a prebendary of Westminster; which also suited him well because there was a house, and accommodations for living in town, and the content and joy he conceived in being a member of so considerable a body of learned men, and dignified in the church, as the body of prebends were; absolutely unlike an inferior college in the university. Here was no faction, division, or uneasiness, but, as becoming persons learned and wise, they lived truly as brethren, quarrelling being never found but among fools or knaves. He used to deplore the bad condition of that collegiate church, which to support was as much as they were able to do. It was an extensive and industrious managery to carry on the repairs. And of later time so much hath been laid out that way as would have rebuilt some part of it. This residence was one of his retreats, where he found some ease and comfort in his deplorable weakness; as I shall show when I come to that melancholy pass.

Obtained a prebendary of Westminster.

The doctor was much honoured by the countenance, or rather friendship, of the Duke of Lauderdale. He was his majesty's commissioner for Scotland; and being himself a very learned man,*

Accepted and greatly esteemed by the Duke of Lauderdale.

* "He was," says Burnet (who was well acquainted with him) "very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a

was a great favourer and encourager of all such. The doctor came first into his acquaintance by the means of the duchess. When she was a widow, with the title of Countess of Disert, she lived at Fakenham in Suffolk, not far from the doctor's relations, who neighbourly corresponded. This lady's two sons, the Talmaches, and the doctor were playfellows at school and at home; and after he was grown up, she desired to see him, and he often waited upon her, and most respectfully answered her severe catechizations; for she was a lady of abundant wit, and knowledge of state affairs and the court. Thence the passage was direct into the conversation of the duke, who, finding the doctor a well-read scholar, judicious, and in the learned languages a critic, and what, at that time, was too much wanted among the men of parts, of loyal principles, sustained by rules of duty and policy inexpugnable, greatly esteemed, and frequently admitted him into a familiarity of converse with him. He communicated his library, which was spacious, and furnished with books that were curious and scarce, especially in matters

master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians, ancient and modern; so that he had great materials. He had, with these, an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. 'He was a man,' as the Duke of Buckingham called him to me, 'of a blundering understanding.'" (*Own Time*, vol. i. p. 162.)

relating to the sacred history; and there was opportunity of discoursing of editions and criticism, and also of what had been much the duke's study, the subjects of popery and fanaticism.

Created Dr. of Divinity in presence of the Duke of Lauderdale.

It happened that once, when the king was at Newmarket, the duke, though no horse-racer, attended. And it concerned him not a little to be continually near the king; for, at that time, the spirit of sedition was rampant. And, with that spirit, the court itself was not a little infected, which pointed, not only at the Duke of York and his succession, but, for like ends, at the king himself; but most of all at the Duke of Lauderdale, who stood like a rock in the way. It had been a court trick, when any points of consequence, and disagreeable to the ministers, were to be gained by teazing, to take the opportunity of the Newmarket meetings, when the grave counsellors were at London, or elsewhere far enough off. Therefore the duke, knowing that the stress would light upon the affairs of Scotland, his province, and person, in order to get him, if possible, removed, thought fit to be, as they say, at the shaving of his own beard. The body of the University of Cambridge complimented the duke with an invitation to an entertainment, which he accepted; and nothing was wanting that could be thought of to make it agreeable to him. In the Regent-house he was placed at the upper end of

the table, and there saw and heard the manner and forms of creating a doctor of divinity; and, as a respect to the duke, that degree was solemnly conferred upon our doctor as one of his favourites; and, by that opportunity, the doctor came into his degree easily, which, in the common track, had been both expensive and troublesome. Then the duke had the offer of doctor of laws, with which statesmen, as suitable to their profession, are ordinarily complimented. The duke accepted it, and the grace of the houses for it passed in form. Then, the orator having made his eloquent speech, all was thought to be over. But the duke, rising up, began with a loud voice, "*Non conabor*," &c. to answer the orator, and concluded in a stately form, with thanks to his *alma mater*. One thing was remarkable: the duke was one of the tallest and most bulky men one should ordinarily see *, and the orator the least. But whether the duke complimented the orator with an advantage in eloquence, as himself had in figure, those who saw and heard both, may determine. But certainly the discourse of the professor in executing the forms of creating the doctor of divinity, all in purest Terentian Latin, and most apt invention, was an

* "He was very big; his hair red, hanging oddly about him; his tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to." (*Burnet's Own Time*, vol. i. p. 162.)

accomplished delight and entertainment to us aliens that never heard the like before. But, in conclusion of all these academic operations, we have got a finished doctor of divinity; and now we may with better warrant than, as hitherto, for pure compendium, give him the style accordingly.

The mastership of Trinity a preferment to his heart's content at first.

After the death of the excellent Master Dr. Barrow, who sat as vice-chancellor at the solemnity beforementioned, our doctor, as I hinted before, was preferred to the mastership of Trinity College. That was a settlement beyond which his ambition had no farther view: and he was not in his nature capable of being more happy than he was at his first entrance upon that charge. But how circumstances altered to prevent his ease and content unto a state of trouble, misery, and finally loss of life, I am to make the conclusion of this narrative. But in the mean time, upon his leaving his attendance at court, which had made a great gap in the midst of his studies, and caused him often grievously to complain, he was restored to his text, and might prosecute his designs in his beloved college, where he found himself posted with honour and advantage; and, as it was his desire, so it was his fate to die master of Trinity.

Account of the doctor's studies.

And now, before we advance farther, it will not be amiss to take some account of the doctor's studies, relate what we know of them, and of his

designs to publish; as he had surely done if he had lived to have (or to have thought he had) finished any of the works upon his anvil. And considering I have here undertaken the life of a person, who, like a flourishing fruit-tree, blossomed fairly, and then underwent a fatal blight that destroyed fruit and tree altogether, for which reason there will not fall out much of action to be historically related, I may be indulged in speculation, which had been the chief work of his life. The work of philology being well over, the doctor did not confine himself to the study of theology, though that was become his avowed profession, but extended his inquiries into the dark recesses of learned antiquities, languages, and philosophy, and making comparisons of it in the several ages of its flourishing; noting the various sects, and the changes in their opinions, and the transitions from one sect to another. He took notice that such a history was much wanted; but, of collectors and transcribers of sentences, that there were more than enough. He was partial to Plato, and recommended the reading his works to students. He put out an edition of some select pieces, which concerned chiefly the catastrophe of Socrates. This was published in octavo, at Cambridge, 1673, and entitled, "*Platonis Dialogi Selecti.*" In a short preface, the doctor shows how moral philosophy

came into Greece, gives a short character of Socrates and his manner of teaching, and then the occasion of this publication, and why of these rather than any other pieces of Plato; for these contain a knowledge that every one ought to covet; whereas the others contain many dry speculations fit enough for the proper time, and now for such as covet to know every thing. And hereby this choice is had at a cheap rate, which, in the whole works, would be a great expense; and he wonders that Aristotle had been often published in separate volumes, but never Plato. He gives a short account of each of the pieces, and why he chose the translation of Ficinus rather than Serranus, and of his adding a sectionary index to the whole. There are some other pieces of ancient philosophy, which are published and joined in a collection of the like, made by Dr. Thomas Gale. These were published in 1671; and of our doctor's share, he gives this account—— "*Habes denique Pythagorica Fragmenta. Videre ea quidem jam sæpius lucem, transfusa in plures, credo, formas quàm ipsius Pythagoræ Anima. Ex iis alia nunc primo Latine versa, alia autem notis illustrata debes* Johanni North, V. C. *qui generis sui claritudinem virtute et eruditione exæquat.*" Nothing more of his hath come through the press to my knowledge; but, by what I have heard him say, I guess he intended to publish more of

the like; intending thereby to draw the scholars off from their rigid attachments to Aristotle, into an acquaintance with Plato; and if he had lived, he might have done much more towards it, if what he did had not a considerable effect.

The bad use made of Aristotle's philosophy.

It seems the doctor thought Plato's way of philosophizing more consonant to Christian morality than Aristotle's was. The ancient fathers inclined that way, until a known course of corruption in the hierarchy bred an occasion to abandon Plato, and to take up with Aristotle, whose discipline was apter for maintaining indeterminate disputes about any thing or nothing, truth or falsity, and error, almost indifferently. What else could be the meaning of their pouring out of Aristotle that empty jargon, of matter and form, upon the holy eucharist; by which, and many syllogistical artifices, they maintain their gainful impositions, and, particularly, that monstrous absurdity transubstantiation. Which they fortify with chimeric notions of substance and accident, out of the same nonsensical philosophy. What imports Aristotle's having had a transcendent genius, if his insufferable domineering, and contempt of others, led him to divide from truth, and to take up with certain schemes of words that signify nothing, whereby to make all his own?

The doctor's hand-writing was very neat and clean, much resembling what, now-a-days, they call an Elzevir letter. He used a smooth and round pen, without cutting his letters, which were singularly well formed and legible; and yet not like to any other man's hand-writing, which happens to many that write for themselves, and much in a solitary way. His characters were small, but very black, using no abbreviations. But above all, his Greek writing was exquisite, which demonstrated that he wrote a great deal of it. I have seen many of his letters, and also notes upon authors; and do not remember to have seen a blot, or obliteration, in them. This argues a very considerate proceeding, and a clear understanding, which, going before the pen, prevented the occasion of many corrections and alterations, as most ordinary writers are tormented with. And it seems, that, for order of writing, he chose the pattern of printed books.

His writing, especially Greek, fair and orderly.

As for the arts and sciences that flourished in his time, he desired to be a stranger to none; but did not professedly pursue them. Upon this account he applied to the mathematics, but as a friend, and not as a lover. He used to converse much with Dr. Barrow (who, in those sciences had gone great lengths) which one would have thought should have fired him; but it had a most

A friend to, but no great student in, the mathematics.

contrary effect, for it cooled him and made him abandon the study. The doctor represented to him what pains he had taken, and particularly, that he had spent more time upon one proposition, which was to prove an arch of a circle equal to a straight line (in order to square the circle) than most men spend in qualifying themselves for gainful professions; and all that he got, was a demonstration that it was impossible to be done. He found reason to suspect that every arch and every straight line were incommensurable, and then, as he observes, "*actum est de tetragonismo*," there is an end of squaring the circle. Hereby the doctor perceived that, if he pursued mathematics, he must adhere, and neglect all his other studies and designs, in which he found himself much advanced. Sir Isaac Newton was in the college a contemporary, and, being made by nature and inclination for mathematical studies, had much encouragement and assistance therein from Dr. Barrow, who, as some say, first hinted to him the plan of his great cosmographical system. But, however, it falls out oddly that, to the best of my remembrance, Dr. Barrow is not so much as mentioned in any of his writings. This being so, old Aristotle himself, consulting his own fame, could not have done better.

While the doctor lived in Jesus College, and was fellow, he had but one solitary pupil; and

that youth* discovered to him an inclination to know what the mathematics were. His tutor thereupon procured him Fournier's first six books of Euclid, and wished him to read them. The lad fell to, and, after the definitions, read the two first propositions, and then remonstrated to his tutor that he found no encouragement to go on; for there was a triangle and a straight line, and a stir to prove equalities that were plain of themselves. The doctor answered, "that if any one read mathematics, and was not delighted, he might take it for granted that he did not understand what he read." Thereupon the scholar read farther, and found that a line struck obliquely over one or two others, plainly proved that the three angles of every triangle were equal to two right ones. And then, mastering the 47th proposition and some others, he acquired such a taste as carried him through a student's course; and though he was no great proficient, yet he was fond of the mathematic sciences ever after.

How he dealt with a solitary pupil on that subject.

As for the philosophy, whereof M. Des Cartes was the celebrated author; the doctor made himself master of it so far, that he could show wherein it was coincident with, and wherein it differed from, the ancient sects, and so brought it into connexion, pursuant to the design of his in-

Master of the, then, new philosophy.

* [His brother Roger, the honourable author of this work.]

tended history of philosophy. But he did not set up for a dogmatist in particulars, and chose to keep upon the volant, free to discourse and censure as he, from time to time, thought fit, declining all *ipse divit's*, or taking sides, as of a sect or party. In his conversation upon these subjects, he kept to the method of the schools, where *solvit*, or *non solvit*, rather than true or false, carries it; though the former is not the criterium of the latter; for there may be many solutions, and yet there can be but one truth. And it may happen that, according to our understandings, that one truth, in our judgment, shall appear to be no solution. Among his virtuoso friends and acquaintance, he loved to spar questions, and foment disputes, and then whip into the chair as moderator, siding as he thought the reason swayed: and they must look well to their hits; for a false, or weak, reasoning seldom escaped him; and they must make good their arguments, or let go their hold. His hardest task was to keep his disputants in due bounds; for, in the most disinterested altercations, heats will kindle and exasperate, till the parties can scarce understand one another. And, in this manner, the doctor and his near friends, with utmost content and satisfaction, used to entertain their hours, when affairs permitted them to be so happy.

I have observed that men, professing general

learning, after they have coursed through all sciences, and literate enquiries, have at length determined their thoughts towards some particular subjects which have proved to be favourites, and have become so taken up with them, that their application hath been chiefly regarding them; and, from thenceforth, matters relating thereto shall be more strictly canvassed and pursued than any other; and all in hopes of making some advances therein. Accordingly the doctor began to concentrate his thoughts to certain particular subjects, and had formed the outlines of some tracts he intended to compose for the improvement of learning in those topics which he thought had been imperfectly held forth, and not well understood. And of these, according to my best remembrance of his ordinary talk, and the hints he threw out, I purpose to give the best account I can.

His intent to pursue certain subjects.

I am well assured that he intended to compose a critical history of philosophy and philosophers, with the originations, connexions, transitions and alterations of the opinions, and also of the several sects, how they sprang up, one under another, comparing their tenets, and showing wherein they agreed and disagreed, with their squabblings and altercations; and so coming down so low as his own time, to show how the moderns had borrowed from the ancients, and what they had set up new

History of philosophy and heathen theology.

of their own. He used to say there was little of this kind of learning to be found in print, and, being once well done, it would be very useful to scholars. I do not remember that Rapin's Works, which tend a little that way, were then published; but his design is more criticism than history. The doctor also intended a history of the heathen theology, which he said was almost wholly wanted. As for comments and notes of his own upon the Greek and Latin classic authors, he had great heaps of them by him. But, as I think, he intended not to publish any but occasionally, as authors might happen to be reprinted, when they might be serviceable. And of that sort were his notes upon some forementioned pieces of the Platonic school, put out by Mr. Gale.

Against Socinus, Republics and Hobbes.

In Christian theology he had a full intention to publish a thorough confutation of the Socinians; and some shrewd touches that way were found in a note-book, which by chance escaped the fire, as I shall show. I have heard him speak much of the importance of that controversy; and he was so far a prophet as to declare he thought that heresy would soon break out and insult Christianity itself. I do not remember he discovered any disposition to attack the papists, or sectaries, though he had considered them well; but he might think there were labourers enough at that oar. In politics he had no mean designs. I think they may

be reduced to three subjects. 1. To expose a deceitful notion of a republic, which he accounted the worst of tyrannies under a mask of liberty, showing the diabolical oppressions, injustices, and ingratitude of communities acted in course, and especially against good and just men. He said he would go no farther for this than a history of the republic of Athens, which would show it fully.

The government of that city came nearest to a pure democracy, of any that ever was in the world. It suffered continual changes (such is the natural tendency of a populace), and, at length, fell under tyranny in the worst sense, which is the proper end of all popular sway. 2. He intended a confutation of Mr. Hobbes (a writer, at that time, much in vogue); and 3. as an appendant to that, a discourse of natural justice amongst men, all positive laws whatsoever abstracted; that is, how all men, according to right reason, are bound to live together, if no pact, or law, of any kind, had been ever established. This was the forwardest of any design he had. I have cast an eye-glancing at a large folio book of his own hand-writing (and very fair) upon that subject, but might not read any part of it. So nice was he of even his friend's censure of what he did: how much more of the public? I neither know nor believe that he made any person living acquainted with his scheme; but he hath often in

discourse proffered divers of his notions, which I thought very singular. I do not know of any other writing design he had; but am sure his mind was always full of various flowers, which often in discourse broke from him, and were such as, if he had lived, might have proved subjects of useful treatises. And as to his tenets and opinions in those he was at work upon, I shall, from the light of the little note-book I have of his, give some faint account.

Complained of the drudgery of composing.

By what has been said it appears that he was extremely nice in all his compositions; and, however it fared with the subject matter, he was sure never to be pleased with his own composition and style. He never used an amanuensis; therefore he might justly, as he often did, complain of the drudgery of composing, and of the great difficulty of writing well. He was much taken with the penning of the History of the Royal Society, by Dr. Sprat, and said, that if he might so acquire the style of that writer, he would read no other book for a whole year. He used also to say, that study and invention were his pleasures, but penning his greatest labour and pain. It is thought that the Lord Verulam invented and suggested; but then, as to the transcribing, or even methodising, his matters, he rested himself upon others. The Romish interest have numerous learned societies, and not a few of the same order; witness

the Jesuits who communicate, in any great work that is to be published, by sending out tasks to their brethren as they think will be best performed; all which returned, and composed by that college, or person who sits at the helm, a stately work is launched. These are not in the power of a solitary author, whose heart is broken by the pains of digesting and transcribing, to say nothing of the charge of amanuenses and copiers. It is pity there is not the like communication amongst us.

He had no assistances, and suffered by his slowness.

This niceness of our doctor, being so very severe as it was, had an unlucky turn by keeping back the closing of any work. He never thought it complete, as it should be, and would do all himself, invent, consult, compare, digest, and transcribe, and never used any amanuensis, or copier, and, by this means, the public lost all the fruit, and he the credit, of all his labours. He had a ready, clear, and significant style, and wanted nothing, but what too many have too great a share of, confidence, and assurance of himself. This may appear in those scraps of his which are in print. But another inconvenience attended his labours to be exact: and it was this. He found that, by often iterating, his thoughts lost of their force, and his pen grew stiff, (as they say that painters, in working up, lose the spirit of the first draught.) I have heard him complain

sensibly of these inconveniences; but such helps, as I have mentioned, would have given him great ease, but he was not disposed to favour himself that way. This slowness of his penwork was a prejudice to him in other respects; for his mind was full, and wanted a discharge; and that drew a weight upon his spirits. Sorrow, they say, is eased by complaining, though to the winds. So a learned man, that gathers for writing, may be so full charged, that, until he hath unloaded his thoughts upon paper, and to his satisfaction, he finds little ease.

Surprised by a fatal sickness; and, by his order, all his MSS. went to the fire.

But the worst of all was, that, while his writings were in this manner retarded, young as he was, a fatal sickness overtook him, whereby all at once he was utterly disabled to pursue, or finish, any thing he had, at any time of his life, given a beginning to. Under this infliction, finding himself, as to all future study and composing, in a desperate condition, he adjured his* best friend, and trustee of all his concerns (whom he had, in his will, made sole executor) to burn every writing of his own hand, left behind him, immediately after his death. And he would not be entreated to the contrary, nor satisfied without a solemn promise of him, in express words, that he would faithfully do it. It is probable he had done it himself; but

* The Lord Keeper Guilford.

life is scarce ever without hopes of better than utter extremity; and it was possible for God to restore him to his strength of body and mind. But it fell out otherwise; for his condition was languishing to the time of his death, of which the melancholy account is at hand: and he was so far desperate as to all study that, if he attempted any thing tending that way, it brought epileptic fits upon him, which tortured and exceedingly dispirited him; so that his friend could not deny what he so fervently asked. Accordingly, not long after his death, all his critical notes, lectures, sermons, animadversions, treatises, and discourses of all kinds, perfect if any were so, and imperfect, useful or not, went altogether in lumps, as innocent martyrs, to the fire.

A small note-book escaped the flames.

But it hath fallen out that one of his pocket-books in octavo, containing some of his extemporaneous thoughts upon various subjects, out of all order, some with ink, but most with red chalk, or black lead, clapped down there on a sudden, lay out of the way, and escaped this general conflagration. And however, I am suspended from communicating these notes in any way (for such extemporaneous scraps must needs carry many defects) I shall nevertheless give a short account of the chief of them, and thereby demonstrate the tendency of his designs and studies.

The subjects may be ranged under these gene-

Some account of his notes in it.

ral heads: 1. Divinity, 2. Criticism, 3. Philosophy, 4. Politics. As to the first, it appears the doctor was prepared to batter the atheists, and then the Arians and Socinians. After having laid open their strengths, he meant to attack them with their own arms (as they pretend), right reason. And, in order to this, he hints somewhat of the reason of the Christian religion, and the holy sacraments of it; and finally to support the authority of the holy scripture; which done, he thought there would be an end of Socinianism. There are some remarkable touches concerning Arminius and Calvin. He is manifestly of opinion with the former, but looks upon the other, with respect to ignorant men, to be more politic, and thereby, in some respects, fitter to maintain religion in them, because more suited to their capacity. But that is referred to art, and not to truth, and ought to be ranked with the *piæ fraudes*, or holy cheats; which seems no good character of presbytery. It hath been known that the worst of heresies have been popular. There are some remarks upon the Roman Catholics and latitudinarians, but not so copious as upon other heads. There are also many touches about the heathen theology, a learning he much affected, tending to improve and clear the history of the heathen idolatry There is little Criticism; but enough to show he was not a little concerned about style and lan-

guage. The account given of Aristotle's logic is with more freedom than the humour of the university, among the seniors at least at that time, would have allowed. He chargeth it to be, not only useless, but pernicious to all true philosophy and knowledge; and proves it by the vain offspring it had, meaning the schoolmen, and scholastic disputation. As to his Philosophy, I must observe that there is a manifest track of the beforementioned design of writing the history of the ancient philosophy, with a comparison of the ancients one with another, and of all with the moderns; which had been a work, which the greatest scholar might have been proud of. It appears here he was not a follower of Aristotle, or of any other; but, according to the justness of his thoughts, doth right to all, and, impartially to prefer truth, he applauds and censures clearly, and (after his way of thinking) according to merit. He was not wonderfully instructed in the minute particularities of Cartesius's mundane system, nor was it very material for him, or any one else, so to be. The last head of those under which I have ranged his notes, is Politics, and dealt most in the state of nature, and the original foundations of right and wrong amongst men; from whence, as I touched before, he intended to derive his principles of government and law. This is chiefly levelled against Mr. Hobbes, and shows some

sparks of that fire he was kindling to cast a better light upon nature's primordial laws than that author had set up. He slighted confuting that author, whose frame leaned upon two or three principles, which when once proved false, the whole structure must come down which that author had, with a world of wit and plausibility, erected thereupon. As for instance, against the opinion that a state of nature is a state of war, he opposeth demonstration that it is otherwise, being a state of pure amity and innocence. And it is this: Man entered not into society for fear; for before there could be any causes of fear from one another, they joined themselves into little companies. Now the fault of Mr. Hobbes is, that he measures the primitive state by the humour of men now in society. There was that innate simplicity in men themselves, which we admire now only in children; and that, which collected them first together, was no other than what makes other creatures delight in their own kind, and herd together. So by degrees they came to the more close union of society; and when the world grew straiter, and men were put to greater shifts, then they began to war. He is much against that piece of Hobbism, that the magistrate's power is derived from the people; and, for that reason, a supreme magistrate can do no wrong, or, as Mr. Hobbes says, right and irresistible power are all one. The doctor shows

that, under laws, the magistrate can do no more, rightfully, than a private person might do by the law of nature. As when a magistrate kills a thief, it is not by virtue of a power derived from the thief, as one involved in the common submission; but he doth it in right of the injured party, who, in the state of nature, might rightfully have done the same. Therefore as particular persons, in the state of nature, may do wrong; so when the magistrate (though enabled as to force under laws) doth the like, he is equally a wrong doer. And, for this reason, the chief magistrate, under laws, may act as wickedly unjust, as a private person, in a natural state, can be. Therefore it is a pernicious opinion that the supreme power can do no wrong, and countenanceth tyranny, and especially that of assemblies who are most apt to call themselves the people. The doctor derided the opinion that the estimate of pure nature was to be taken from any persons adult, and educated in corruption, and confirmed by practice, howsoever lawlessly jumbled together. All which bad customs, reflecting upon pure nature, vanish, leaving only innocence in the room. And even his terrigenal men would be void of ambition, or knowledge of wants; for even appetite is a result of experience. I do not remember much in his notes of the patriarchal or theocratical schemes of government; perhaps they lay out of the way of his inquisitions.

He thought that adult persons were free from the duty of filial obedience; which is against the patriarchal scheme, and, as I take it, right reason, which makes that duty co-equal with life itself; for he that hath a life lent him, is a debtor for it all the days of his life.

Some singularities in his humour.

I shall next touch upon some singularities of the doctor's fancy and humour, and some other circumstances relating to his character and studies; and so, passing over the divers stages of his life, as my memory serves, defer what will be very melancholy as near the catastrophe of this design as I may. He was taken notice of in the university for venting new notions, as they are called, in his public exercises; for which I might appeal to his notes. But that is so sorry a one that I shall lay no stress upon it; and must profess myself under no small concern that all his books and papers fell not into my hands as those did. It had been a shrewd temptation to have snapped a parole, or trust, prejudicial to no account but of the fire. But his humour was to hold all within himself till he was entirely satisfied that no slip, or oversight, might give disadvantage to his cause or himself; lest any less guarded words, or expressions, should escape him. Nothing could have secured him better in that point, than the participation of his friends. In a critic of works, an author hath but one eye upon his own; but, upon another's, he hath two, and spectacles to boot. He was so

deeply concerned for his cause, as well as his own esteem, that he durst not trust even a friend with either. And he had a dread lest this little note-book, of which I have given an account, might happen to stray and fall into unknown persons' hands, who possibly might misconstrue his meaning. In contemplation of which contingent, he wrote upon it this pleasant imprecation; "I beshrew his heart, that gathers my opinion from any thing he finds wrote here."

His perpetual thoughtfulness, and, withal, diffidence.

He was always exceeding thoughtful, and full of notions. He could not rest from working upon his designs, and, at the same time, so diffident of the event, that, between impulse and despair, he was like Mahomet in his tomb, or, as they say, Erasmus hung. Despair had the greatest influence; and it sat so hard upon his spirits that he desired rather to be utterly forgot, than that any memorial of his dealing in literature should remain to show that such a one as he existed, which should not be proof against the teeth of the next ages. After he had the government of himself, he would not endure that a picture should be made of him, though he was much courted and invited by Sir Peter Lely to it. And, what was very odd, he would not leave the print in his bed, where he had lain, remain undefaced.

Florid visage, but weak constitution.

As to his person and constitution, excepting only the agreeable air of his countenance, and florid head of flaxen hair, I have little to produce

that may be commended. His temperature of body, and his austere course of life, were ill matched, and his complexion agreed with neither; for his face was always tinted with a fresh colour, and his looks vegete and sanguine, and, as some used to jest, his features were scandalous, as showing rather a madam *entravestie*, than a book-worm. But his flesh was strangely flaccid and soft, his going weak and shuffling, often crossing his legs as if he were tipsy; his sleep seldom, or never, easy, but interrupted with unquiet and painful dreams, the reposes he had were short and by snatches; his active spirit had rarely any perfect settlement or rest.

Inclined to the stone, and addicted to forebode extremes.

The distempers which most afflicted, or rather frighted him, were gravel and rheums. The former held him in sad expectations most part of his life, and the other were most urgent towards his latter end; and, in truth, were the occasion of his death, as will be showed afterwards. His worst indisposition lay in his mind, that is, an unhappy tendency to believe that, in all incidents and emergencies, the worst that in possibility might happen, would fall to his share; and, accordingly, his mind always lighted upon extremes. He never had a fit of the stone in all his life, but voided plenty of red gravel, which he was told was a symptom that no stone gathered. But that weighed little with him; for every morning he speculated his urine,

and, as the use of splenetic folks is, called witnesses to see what quantities of gravel he voided. But such are the failings of sedentary persons, and those who pass most of their time alone. A life of action allows not leisure to dwell upon such reflections. But this excuse the doctor had: his father died a miserable martyr to the stone; and many think that disease, as well as the gout, often goes from father to son. But the doctor's humour, in these respects, was so extreme, that his foreboding of evils to come, often put him into real passion. I have heard him, in almost agonising concern, say that it was not death that he feared, but a painful life. I have hinted his corporal infirmity before. He had not the spirits of a good constitution, such as support men in actions of personal valour, and contempt of danger, though staring them in the face. He had a good share of philosophy, but not enough to fill up that blank in his nature. If there be a state wherein brutes have an advantage over human kind, it lies in their nescience of evils to come, which protects them from anticipating calamities, or, like men, whether certain or uncertain, make them present by imagination.

Great cares about small matters, charged on his nature.

It is certain he was overmuch addicted to thinking, or else he performed it with more labour and intenseness than other men ordinarily do; for, in the end, it will appear that he was a martyr to

study. He scarce ever allowed himself any vacation; what he had, was forced upon him. There was no undertaking, or occurrence, how trivial soever, whereof all the circumstances or emergencies, that possibly might concern him, were not valued and revolved in his mind, lest he should be so unhappy as to oversee any; as if mere trifles had been cardinal to the interests of his whole life. If he was to ride to his father's house, walk to church, or make any visit in town, he was in pain about the contingents, and so low as to fret at the fancy he had, that the people in the street looked on him. He was, in a word, the most intense and passionate thinker, that ever lived, and was in his right mind. I may be here told that if I think, by these descriptions, to exhibit the portrait of a great man, I am out of the way; for what is less consistent with such a character than such timidities? I answer that I am not giving the portrait of a perfect man; and whoever pretends so to do, is a foul flatterer; and yet the character I give, is no small one, because of a single infirmity, natural and unavoidable. If any man, however in name and truth, great, did not labour under some unhappy crisis of body, of one kind or other, which inclined him to transgress in the decorum of his actions, the doctor had much to answer for in being so singular; but if it be (as certainly it is) otherwise, then all that can be required of a wise

and good man, is to know his foible, and strive to correct it; and if he hold himself firm against all manner of corruption, which might grow up under it, and keeps down scandal, he is completely absolved.

His continual art and practice to amend himself.

That our doctor was well entitled, under this apology, I am fully satisfied. For, first, he understood himself, and all his peculiar frailties, perfectly well. And his friends could not show him more of himself than he knew; and, if there was any difference, the weight fell on his side, who was sensible of more foibles in his nature than his friends could observe. But they could perceive him often struggling with himself to curb excesses growing upon him; and he was either much overseen, or surprised, when he showed any extraordinary concern or passion. And in his government of himself he succeeded so well that strangers seldom, or never, perceived his disorders: but, among friends, he was more off his guard, and gave some advantages against himself which served for raillery; and that never displeased him. And he used his friends as spies upon himself to discover his own failings; and, for that end, used to be very sharp upon the company; and if any one, that he might be free with, had a sore place, he was sure to give it some rubs, and harder and harder, till they must needs feel, and then they fell to retaliating, which was his desire; often saying that he loved, between

jest and earnest, to tell people of their faults, that they might pay him in the same coin by telling him his own. A small degree of acquaintance gave him an inlet to this kind of sport; and he managed his freedoms with such fluent wit and respect, and with such decency of behaviour, that nothing was ever, on that score, taken ill of him. But what imports all this to the character of a person honourable by birth, and not only studious, but politely learned, and for his religion, justice, sobriety and good manners, unblameable; and one that laboured all his life to make himself, in all respects, better, and to amend whatever he found amiss in himself; wherein he was not unsuccessful? And that carries more of merit, than virtue itself, when there is no natural impulse, or temptation to the contrary.

His religious and moral character.

It will not be amiss to relate what I know of his character more particularly. As to his religion, his being in priest's orders speaks him to be of the church of England established by law; although that rule hath, of late, undergone many scandalous exceptions. But he was critically orthodox and sincere, as the whole series of his life and actions plainly demonstrated. And his zeal was never more exasperated than against men busy in disturbing the orderly exercise of pure Christianity amongst us; especially in our church, within the pale of which, iniquity itself could not

find a plausible scruple either on account of doctrine or discipline; for the sustaining of which his mind was chiefly at work. And to show his conscientiousness herein, I shall relate one passage. Sir John Cuts of Childersley, a relation of his, knowing that the doctor used to touch an organ, and, for that purpose, had one in his chamber, which was borrowed, and not his own, very generously offered to make him a present of one that had stood in his house, but never to any one's knowledge made use of. The doctor positively refused it, although, in a free circumstance, he could have been glad of a present so seasonable to him as that was. And he told me his reason was, that the room where the organ stood, was called the chapel; and he supposed the instrument had been intended for religious service, and probably, at some time, made use of accordingly. And he said to me that "others might think of those matters as they pleased; but he had, and ever should have, a great regard to them." He was so very nice that he could not bear that any religion, no, not a false one, should be ridiculed, and scarce allowed the prophet's direction in deriding Baal's priests. For false religions are evidences of the true; and if derision be put in common practice against the one, it will soon be perverted upon the other. I need not, to complete his character, add any thing of his personal virtues, such as probity,

temperance, chastity, common honesty, and justice. His enviers (for enemies he had none) had never any colour to insinuate any thing to his disadvantage. In short; religion, justice, probity, and humanity were his study, delight, and practice.

Averse to faction, and preferred absolute monarchy to a democracy.

As to the public, which, in his time, began to be muddled with faction, that, through the carelessness of our government, had got ground, and the artificial cry of popery and arbitrary power sounded loud in all corners, he showed an utter detestation of the faction and their rabble, and could not but be angry when he heard what trouble they created to the state at that time. He was well apprised of the history of the then late troubles, and thought the like in danger to be repeated. He declaimed against all the proceedings, however popular, tending that way, as no less than the actions of stolid brutes, void of thought and foresight of consequences, that hurry themselves into perdition and ruin. Brute beast indeed (meaning the populace), but it hath horns and hoofs; therefore stand clear. But it hath neither eyes nor ears to any purpose but finding the shortest cut to confusion and destruction of itself and every thing else that stands in it's way. And the case is not at all mended by a set of fine appellatives; for hypocrisy is commonly varnished with the like. The doctor, as I showed, had been

a notable student in the qualities of powers in government, and really thought that of the two extremes, absolute monarchy, or pure democracy, the former was incomparably to be preferred; and since exorbitances will grow up in all governments, the rule of one hath fewer, and those less oppressive, than that of many. The great fault of monarchy is, that it cannot be pure monarchy, but must be assisted in government by many, as counsellors, ministers, &c. and still of those the fewer the better, even to a single viceroy, if he can well act the monarch. Solemn councils are formal and hypocritical; and the best counsel is taken of a sudden, as things offer. He used to say, that the arguments against monarchy were taken from the examples of bad kings. But who called up the examples of bad republics? To the little finger of one of them the loins of a monarch were light. And weighing the happiness of people in general, there is no comparison between those which have been under monarchies, and those under republics: so much do the former exceed. The grievances under monarchy fall mostly upon ambitious troublesome grandees, who are made amends by the advantages they have in high places. But all that while the people have their ease and quiet; and in that one single article of suppressing civil war, the people, who are seldom undone any other, but most frequently

that way, are more than adequately compensated for all the evils of monarchy that speech-makers can suggest. The doctor was often copious in his discourses upon these subjects, and used to toss and tumble over his Grecian republics, under which no honest good man could serve and not be ungratefully used, and finally destroyed. He had a just value for the temperate government of his own country, and abhorred, as he did the devil and his angels, all those troublesome folks that laboured, by altering, to make it worse, and so finally to enslave the people.

His most rigid and austere course of life as master of TrinityCollege.

But now I must withdraw from speculation into actual practice of government,—I mean that of our doctor, as master of Trinity College. This preferment took him, partly, from his studies, but almost entirely out of those advantages, which by a few friends he enjoyed: that is, from a frequent, easy, free, and pleasant conversation, into an anxious, solitary, and pensive course of life; which, with his austere way of ordering himself, drew upon him a most deplorable sickness; and that proved the ruin of all his powers, both of body and mind, and then, by a slow, painful gradation, laid him down in the arms of everlasting rest. This track will lead me to consider the doctor now, not as a private person, but as a magistrate, and in the exercise of no slight charge. He wanted the nervous capacity of his immediate predecessor Dr. Barrow,

who was moulded for indefatigable labour; but he, on the contrary, was frail and infirm, and of a nature that needed recruits, and, to reinstate its forces, some measures of indulgence. He was temperate and regular, and, at chapel and meals, lived by the rule of his college. He kept a good table, and always invited some of the fellows and fellow-commoners to dine with him; and all was well but as touching the bottle, which he would not suffer to be too many for them. But if his line had been a little extended that way, it would have produced freedoms, and dispersed those cloudy formalities which will fall between a superior and inferiors, unless the nerve is cut with the glass, and humour hath a free play. He wanted nothing more than a free society. The state (if I may so term it) of a master of a college is such that he can scarce look out, or make a visit, but with attendance and form; and, in his college, all are upon their guard where he is, and very few, if any, were thought capable of a true and familiar friendship that is clear of all design or project. He was always disposed to be free enough; but it never works well between inferiors and superiors. He had not learnt the art of some persons well preferred; I mean, to be careful of himself, and to use the means of long life, in order to make the most of what is fallen to their share. Nor is it expected that one, in his place, should have

put himself, as he did, under all the severities of a college life. But he considered that, having the charge of maintaining the discipline and order of the college, his demeanour there was not his own to dispose of, but dedicated for example to others, and that he ought to perform strictly, in his own person, all that, by a common rule, he required of the scholars under him: especially in keeping chapel, wherein he never (willingly) failed; not in winter nor summer, whatever the season, or how early soever the time was. Nothing but a sense of duty could have made him swerve from the interests of his health. And I am very well assured that he laid to heart, as they say, the good of the society, and his duty regarding it, against which he slighted all considerations relating to himself.

His solicitude for good order and justice in elections.

There are some I have known, who make such trusts no incumbrance at all; but let things pass as they may, and take little care but of their profits. But our doctor's principle was very different; and that being derived upon a strict integrity, could not be reconciled to the perfunctory; but he thought himself bound to be active, as well in keeping down disorders, always apt to rise under him, as also to see justice done to all the scholars. And in particular, he was resolute in adhering to the statutes of the college, and to see that elections went fairly; and, in the busi-

ness of fellowships, that created him no small trouble. Every one knows that the pupil-mongers, often senior fellows, who were his coadjutors, would favour good pupils, though perhaps no good scholars, in order to get them into good fellowships, when others had better pretensions. This bred interest-making, and, for the most part, brought importunities upon him; as if, by teazing and urging, points might be gained. All which partialities were fastidious and hateful to him that had none, and whatever impetuosity he endured, he never would consent to have a dunce preferred to a good scholar when the standing was equal; but always declared to do justice to whom, upon account of better merit, it belonged. These were not slight cares to him, that used to create great ones out of slighter occasions.

Trouble about mandates obviated by pre-elections.

The court mandates for elections were very irksome to him. He knew well how those favours, by means of courtiers, were obtained; and often suspected that some of his seniors, when they could not compass their will of him another way, were instrumental in obtaining them. And he used to inveigh bitterly against that practice, declaring that whoever of them was guilty of it, did not consider their duty and their oaths; and that it must, in time, bring the college to nothing; for if elections are for favour, and not merit, who will think of rising

by any means but courtship or corruption? And then flattery, or money, must supply want of parts, learning and sobriety; and the college, once so filled, will continue and avow the same methods: whereby gentlemen's sons in the college, under the influence of such a regimen, will be exposed to the mischiefs of idleness, expense, and debauchery, spreading in the university, as bad as in any lewd corporation town. It is a common unhappiness, that whoever opposes growing corruptions and abuses in societies shall have enemies enough. And no vexation of him be left uninflicted, that might be raised up against a common enemy; and so hornets, when disturbed, become impertinent, and endeavour to sting. As for the mandates, I believe they were too hard for him that had as good an appetite to disobey them, as to his meals at high noon: but instead of that, and to ease his mind a little (for he lived in perpetual dread of mandates), but principally for the good of the college, he found out a way, by pre-elections, to obviate an inconvenience he could not resist. And thereupon, out of the several years, four or five one under another, he caused to be pre-elected into fellowships scholars of the best capacities in the several years; which made it improbable another election should come about in so many years then next ensuing; for, until all these elections were benefited, there could be no

vacancy. And that broke the course of mandates whilst he lived. The doctor was solicitous about nothing more than the business of elections, which he thought the spring of good and evil to the college, and (as he thought) in some degree, to the public.

Thought over rigorous, became unpopular, and affronted.

He had occasion enough to exercise all his philosophy; for without any thing else to make him uneasy, a disposition in the scholars to make him uneasy had been sufficient. He had first laid down his own example of regularity and sobriety before them, which ought to have inclined them; and after that done and continuing, he thought it his duty to be informed, as well as might be, of what was outrageously amiss amongst them. He never connived at any thing whereof, by the duty of his place, he was bound to take notice; but, either by admonition or otherwise, he did his best to amend it. He endeavoured also to make the discipline of the college as light and easy to the scholars as he could, by using private intimations, and friendly advices tempered with mild reasonings and persuasion. But, for all that, he grew unpopular amongst them. They took him to be over officiously rigid and strict, saying, "it had not been so before." Youth will always mistake manhood to consist wholly in disorderly living, and that order and discipline belong only to boys. And, to show how much men they are, they be-

have themselves, as some did to him, contumaciously, and many of them contrived to affront him. I have heard it said, but not credibly, that one night, as he was walking in the cloister, some lads, merry-making in an opposite chamber, and fancying he came there to spy what was doing, came down and used him ill; but I never heard him speak of it, as he did of most things that concerned him; nor did he make any inquiry about it, as he would have done, to discourage such affronts; therefore I do not believe the story to be true. This I was a witness of. One winter night, whilst we sat in his dining-room by the fire, the chimney being opposite to the windows (looking into the great quadrangle), a stone was sent from the court, through the window, into the room, and fell but a little short of the company. He seemed to take but little notice. We guessed him to be inwardly vexed; and soon after the discourse fell upon the subject of people's kicking against their superiors in government, who preserves them as children are preserved by parents; and then he had a scroll of instances out of Greek history to the same purpose, concluding that no conscientious magistrate can be popular; but, in lieu of that, he must arm himself with equanimity.

The building of the library, and the occasion.

When the doctor entered upon the mastership of Trinity College, the building of the great library, begun by his immediate predecessor Dr.

Barrow, was advanced about three quarters of the height of the outward wall; and the doctor most heartily and diligently applied his best forces towards carrying it on; and, besides his own contributions, most of his friends and relations, upon his encouragement, became benefactors; the particulars whereof will appear in the accounts of that noble structure. The tradition of this undertaking runs thus. They say that Dr. Barrow pressed the heads of the university to build a theatre; it being a profanation and scandal that the speeches should be had in the university church, and that also be deformed with scaffolds, and defiled with rude crowds and outcries. This matter was formally considered at a council of the heads; and arguments of difficulty, and want of supplies went strong against it. Dr. Barrow assured them that if they made a sorry building, they might fail of contributions; but if they made it very magnificent and stately, and, at least, exceeding that at Oxford, all gentlemen, of their interest, would generously contribute; it being what they desired, and little less than required of them; and money would not be wanted as the building went up, and occasion called for it. But sage caution prevailed, and the matter, at that time, was wholly laid aside. Dr. Barrow was piqued at this pusillanimity, and declared that he would go straight to his college, and lay out the

foundations of a building to enlarge his back court, and close it with a stately library, which should be more magnificent and costly than what he had proposed to them, and doubted not but, upon the interest of his college, in a short time to bring it to perfection. And he was as good as his word; for that very afternoon he, with his gardeners and servants, staked out the very foundation upon which the building now stands; and Dr. North saw the finishing of it, except the classes, which were forward, but not done, in his time; and divers benefactions came in upon that account; wherewith, and the liberal supply from the college, the whole is rendered complete; and the admirable disposition and proportion on the inside is such as touches the very soul of any one who first sees it.

The differences between the doctor and his eight seniors, and how.

I mentioned before some uneasinesses between the doctor and his seniors about elections; and since those matters sunk deep in his mind, and some have thought fit in print to refer to them, I shall relate all I know, or have credibly heard, of that matter. There was much of contingency in what happened; for two masters, Pearson and Barrow, preceded our doctor, and both being more addicted to books than business or government, were contented the eight seniors should determine affairs, and, at meetings, readily joined

in what they agreed. This easiness had bred a sort of expectation that what the seniors had predetermined about elections, leases, &c. should pass current; it being enough to make the master acquainted, or to show him their opinions. But our doctor did not understand this method of proceeding, and consulted his own reason, and would be guided by that, and that only, whatever the rest thought; for he looked upon himself as one intrusted, and bound by duty and oath to act for the good of the college, and, for that, was answerable to his own conscience; and nothing, but reasoning, and convincing his judgment, would induce him to comply. This behaviour seemed a little new to them, who had been used so much to dictate as scarce to endure contradiction; and they used all means, civil and uncivil, to reduce this master under the like *reglement* as the former. It is hard to allege this extraordinary conduct, and to rest it upon pure parole; therefore I shall add one instance of fact, which the doctor himself told me. Once at a meeting, the seniors had agreed upon a business; but the master did not think fit to join with them to establish it. They most importunately urged; as if their unanimous accord were reason enough to satisfy him. But it was all one; he thought it unreasonable, and positively refused to concur.

At last one of them said, "Master, since you will not agree, we must rise and break up the meeting." "Nay," said the master, "that you shall not do, for I myself will rise and be gone first." And, accordingly, he rose and went into his chamber, leaving them in a sort of consternation; for they knew that, without their master, they could do nothing at all. After a while, they thought fit to drop their huff, and, in a proper manner, sent and desired him to return to them; which he did, and they went on with other business.

By weakness disabled to contend.

I never heard him mention any other sort of affront, done to his face, but this; and it seemed to grieve him, because it was during his weakness, of which I am about to give an account; for while he was vegete and strong, he could contend, and sustain his authority by the force of his reasons; and those he never failed to bestow fluently. But after his first attack from the fit, his body was weak, and his utterance imperfect, and, what was worst of all, passions apt to rise in him, which caused his epileptic fits to return; whereby he was disabled as to all serious debate and contention. And I do believe that too much advantage was taken of his weakness; for, being near his end, he ordered that he should be buried in the outward chapel, that the fellows might trample upon him dead, as they had done living.

This was spoke in the anguish of his mind, when he could judge, and would, be just; but wrangle he neither would nor could, because of the hideous consequences; and possibly some things might pass, in his absence, contrary to his mind, and on such occasions he used to throw out such tragical speeches. But we are a little too early for such melancholy notes.

His severities to himself increased, and his want of society.

I am next to give in the history of the doctor's fatal sickness, so often touched upon, with the presumed occasion, accession, and conclusion; and what should that be but, the end of all things, death? I have already accounted for his thoughtful and studious course of life, and habitual fulness and care in his mind. But, after he came into a post of magistracy, all his solicitudes exasperated, and the ordinary refreshments, which he sometimes met with before, failed. And I must add, that as his course of life, so his diet was severe to himself; for he was always sober and temperate, and scarce spared the time of eating from thinking. After morning prayer, and a solitary dish of coffee, he retired to his study at the end of a gallery; and there he was fast till noon, unless college, or university affairs called him out. After his meals, a meagre dish of tea, and then again to his post, till chapel and supper; and then, if he had any friendly conversation, it was still in a studious way, that is, discoursing of

abstruse matters, which, however pleasant to him, kept his head at work. His chief remissions were when some of his nearest relations were with him, or he with them, and then, as they say, he was whole-footed; but this was not often, nor long together. Some of them used to be free with him, and, in his own way, between jest and earnest, tell him he must indulge a little, go abroad, and be free with a glass of wine, with good company, in his college, as he used to be with them; that his self-denials would endanger his health, and the like. To which sort of discourse I have heard him return a tradition of Bishop Wren, who, when he was told he must not keep Lent, his body would not bear it: "Will it not?" said he. "Then it is no body for me." And the doctor, by his life of perpetual thinking, had settled his mind in a resolution so stiff that he often seemed rather morose and humoursome, than, as his constant profession was, to be governed by reason. When his friends have been importunate with him to say (in the common forms of free converse), "Why? and for what reason?" He hath answered, "Reason is to govern me, but my will is a reason to every body else."

Afflicted with rheums and his uvula swelling.

It was very remarkable that nothing of any evil, which the doctor at any time in his life feared, ever came upon him; but somewhat else,

and of which he had no imagination or dream, and indeed the worst, I think, that could befall human kind; that is, to be paralytic and epileptic. If, in his anticipating mind, a thought had entered that he had been obnoxious to those distempers, I cannot say how he would have comported under it; for nothing could come nearer the quick with him than a distemper that insulted his faculties of reasoning and judgment, wherein his mind must suffer as well as his body. The distemper came upon him by these steps; first, a cold, then an unusual quantity of rheum discharged at his throat, and the tonsil glands swelled, and, at length, his uvula; and, as the course of these colds is, a deal of spitting, and venting of rheum at his mouth, followed. Here is nothing extraordinary but what happeneth in colds, and being assisted with warm humectations and repose, the disease itself, allowing time for it, makes the cure: and what could be done more reasonably than to encourage that proper discharge of a peccant humour which nature itself, and in the way of a common catarrh, had found out? But that which most concerned the doctor, was the swelling of his uvula, which, continuing over long, gave him, that always anticipated extremes, an apprehension that he must, at length, submit to have it cut off. And this operation was so dreadful to him, that, to prevent it, he must needs apply to the most noted physi-

cians in the university; and they considered the case, and prescribed as they thought proper. But their endeavours succeeded not, but, in all appearance (if any judgment may be made by events) proved the ruin of their patient. And this may be a warning not to seek extraordinary remedies in ordinary cases.

Remedies, amber smoak and astringent powders.

I fear that, in my report of this case, I may offend the medical faculty; but I am not free to suppress, or palliate, matters of fact which were of the last concern to my subject. If one may be so free to interpose a censure, their fault (if any was) lay in meddling at all, and not sending the good man home to his mother to be nursed. But, instead of that, partly, as I guess, to humour him, and, partly, to put in practice their university learning, fell in *pesle mesle* with their prescriptions to divert this flow of rheum from discharging at his throat and mouth, and to send it another way. But first, as they said, the cause must be removed; which was to be done by rectifying his digestions, that rheums might not breed so copiously; and then they might safely stop the vent. And in order to this, a circulatory course (as they called it) of physic was prescribed, enough to have purged a strong man from off his legs; and the doctor most scrupulously conformed; for he had a great regard to all kinds of university learning, and believed that of physic to have more logical conclusions, in order

to cures, than their own faculty, elsewhere, will allow them. After this career performed, the prescription was to take amber, as tobacco, in pipes, and to have certain astringent powders, in quills, blown into his mouth upon his *uvula*. The unctuous smoke of the one, joined with, and held, the other so fast, that nothing might pass in or out that way. It was not considered all this while that the patient, with his cathartic courses, was grown so weak and feeble, that, in all likelihood, rheums must breed in his body rather than abate.

Went to London, and reduced to a skeleton.

But they had a resigned patient to themselves, than whom a tamer subject, to make experiments upon, could not have been found. It is certain that, by these methods of physic, smoke, and powder, the doctor was reduced to extreme weakness, and, finding no amendment, ventured to come up to his friends in London. They knew nothing of his having been ill; for, in his letters, he complained of nothing but a cold he had got. They were amazed to see him come helmeted in caps upon caps, and meagre as one newly crept out of a fever. His regimen was no less changed than his habit and countenance. He must stir little abroad, and, for the world, not after sunset, though it was July, (which was the only time of his friends' refreshment abroad) for fear of increasing his rheums. He must drink nothing small, nor much of any thing. Grapes, and peaches, being full of

humidity, were poison; but nuts, and dry bread toasted, without stint; and all the while, at fit periods, the pipes and powders came; and one or other must blow for him. His friends had no notion of this latter medicament; nor, as I guess, his physicians; otherwise they had not prescribed, nor we suffered the continuance of it. After the doctor's death, I told the case and method to Dr. Lower, the prime physician of his time,* and he said that he would undertake, by the smoke of amber only, to put the soundest man in the world into convulsion fits.

By diet and friends wonderfully recovered in a month.

The doctor's friends, having all this wonderful alteration before them to observe, concluded him gone of the spleen, and that the best physic, for him, was society, plentiful diet, and turning abroad in the air when we could get him so to do; and not without perpetual raillery at his caps and new discipline, so contrary to what he was always used to. Upon this account he was taken down to Hammersmith, a country-seat of his best brother's; and in the space of a month from his first coming up, purely by his coming into his friends' way of living, between London and the country, a perfect cure of him was made; and he made no scruple of eating, drinking, and airing as they did.

* He succeeded to the practice of Dr. Willis, and was himself succeeded by the famous Radcliffe. (*Wood's Ath. Ox.* vol. ii. p. 857.)

His volumes of caps were disbanded; his countenance grew florid, and his ordinary briskness and good humour returned to him. Thus (under God) by pure relaxation and diet (all medicines apart) this egregious cure was wrought. In this state he returned to his college, with good counsel enough to indulge as he had done with us; and, for doctors, to use only the famous three, Diet, Quiet, and Merriman. But, as to his amber and powders, which he cared not to leave wholly off, his friends pretended not to judge of them, but thought them to be whims of the physicians, and, as chips, neither evil, nor very good.

Dropped apoplectic, in admonishing two scholars.

After the doctor was returned to his college, his rigours to himself, and austere course of life also, returned; and his rheums beginning again to flow, by like advice as before, cathartic, amber, and powder, were reiterated in full force; and all without the least regard to that successful experiment that was made upon him in London. So that his body growing weaker and weaker, and his disease stronger, the humour having no vent at his mouth, as it naturally tended (for all those parts were closed) broke out in his brain; and threw him down all at once in a desperate apoplexy. The manner of its access was this. The master and seniors thought fit to revive an antiquated discipline, according to the statutes, of admonishing disorderly scholars, in order (without

amendment) to expulsion; and in the morning the doctor came out from the meeting (where probably he had been a little roiled) to perform his duty upon two scholars then brought to be admonished. And it was observed that he admonished with more than usual earnestness and acrimony in his speech; for the lads were much to blame, and behaved themselves very contumaciously. When the body is weak, passion is usually strong, and divers things concurred to stir it up in him, which probably touched the trigger, and, while he was speaking, down he dropped. It is possible that, without these circumstances of emotion of his spirits, this had not happened at that time; but then it is more than likely that on some more unhappy place, or occasion, as preaching, or in some other solemn presence, the like had happened; but here it was almost at his bedchamber door. He was immediately taken up, wherein the two scholars were very assistant, and carried to his bed, there being little hopes of life in him. But the physicians were immediately sent for, and due methods were used, as in cases of apoplexies.

Not dead, kept from sleep, but his mother extorted it to a lively effect.

After the ordinary tormenting operations were over, he recovered a little sense, but was excessive drowsy; and it was judged that, unless that symptom could be conquered, he must drop from them. Whereupon, by direction, followed perpetual noise and clangor, of one sort or other, to

keep him awake. There was concert of tongs, firegrate, wainscot drum, and dancing of curtains and curtain rings, such as would have made a sound man mad. It was presumed that, if he fell asleep, he would never wake more; so his instruments were plied until his good mother (who was immediately sent for) came to take care of him. She was a magnanimous lady, that had nursed a large family, old and young, for divers years, and, in experience, was more than a match for a college of physicians. She saw in what torment her son lay drowsy to death, and gave attention to what the physicians said; but all the while admired the music they made. She desired of the physicians that her son might have a little sleep. "No, madam," said they, "for, if he sleeps yet, he will never wake again." The good lady had no longer patience, but set up her maternal authority, and told them flat and plain that her son should have rest, and that quietly, for full two hours, and she would answer the consequences. He was her son, and she would have the nursing of him Thereupon she dismissed the musicians, and desired the learned and unlearned (for there were many eavesdroppers and news-carriers in the room) to withdraw and leave her. She kept with her only the maid she brought; and they two went to work, ordered the bed, and laid the poor patient in such a posture as she thought most proper for his

taking rest; and then, sending her maid to wait without, she sat herself down at the bed's head, and all was hush for the full time. Sometimes she peeped in upon him, and found no reason to retrench any part of it. After this she opened the curtains, and called in the physicians, and the rest that had a mind to be there, and showed them how easy and quietly he lay, and breathing as nature required. His countenance had a good colour, and his face was composed, which, before, was distorted in divers manners, with his eyes staring like one of the Furies. "Now, doctors," said she, "what think ye?" "But, Madam," said one, "will he wake?" "You shall see," said she, and gently jogging him by the arm as he lay, he awoke, and, opening his eyes, knew several there, and spoke to them. The physicians were exceedingly surprised; for they expected great difficulty in waking him, and had been consulting of methods how to do it.

Left in a numb palsy, and his notions.

Now the mine was fired, and all the havoc it could make upon a poor mortal bulwark of animated earth determined; and what remained was only ruin and confusion as the blast had left it; never to be recovered into its former order and strength again. The fit went off, but left the doctor under an infliction of a desperate numb palsy all on one side of him; which the learned call an *hemiplagia*. He kept his bed for some

considerable time before he yentured to rise; and then was able, only with help of a friend and crutch, to crawl a little about the room. His mouth and face were drawn up on the lame side, and his left arm and leg altogether nervous; and neither did him much service as long as he lived. But, in time, the weak leg served just to lean on, while the other got a little forwards; but itself was dragged after. He dropped his crutch, but never ventured to walk far, without help at, or near, his elbow. He told me the images in his mind, during this infliction, as far as he could remember them. First, during his admonishing, he perceived himself to lean towards his left side; and the leg, that should have sustained him, seemed to have lost its bone, and to be like the finger of a glove; by which it was plain to him that he must fall, and accordingly he gave way to it. After this he remembered nothing at all of what had happened to him, until, by help of his mother, he had taken a little rest. And then, in a dreaming manner, his conceit was that he had got a strange leg in bed with him, and was much perplexed which way to get rid of it; whether he should call to have it taken away or not: and it was a great while before he could bring himself, even awake, to own it.

It is an uneasy task, but (according to the profession I make of truth for better or worse) neces-

The prodigious declination of the doctor's mind to levities.

sary, to show the miserable decay of the doctor's thinking and memorial capacities. What is the difference between manhood and puerility, but that the former hath a large stock of useful memoirs, and also strength habituated to action; which the latter wanting, runs after levities, and any thing for variety, without choice, unless appetite or inclination (and even that flows from experience) draws it? Suppose a hurricane to fall upon a sound man's memory, and obliterate great part of his collections, and confuse the rest, as one may imagine a fine poem wrote upon the sands, and much ruffled by the wind. There may be enough left to show it had been good sense, but the dignity of the verse was lost. So the man would lose his judgment of true values, and relapse into a sort of puerility; but still his moral character, that is, his will to do good or evil, remains unaltered. This was the case of our good doctor. The seat of his memory was ruffled by the disease falling upon his brain and nerves, which had made such havoc that he had no firm notion of himself, or of any thing; but had his experience to gather, and his understanding to frame over again. After he could lie awake and think, I guess he had some reflection that he had been over severe with himself by too much hard study and abstemiousness, which, possibly, had brought that disease over him; and then fancied

he must cure himself by a course clean contrary; and accordingly he thought that now he must be merry and jolly. Pursuant to this (conjectured) model, the company, that assisted about his bed to entertain him, must find merry tales to tell, and if a little smutty, the mirth paid for it. The lighter sort of books, and frivolous comedies, were read to him, and he heard them with notable attention, and, at the quaint passages, was unusually affected, and often laughed, but (as his visage was then distorted) most deformly. He fancied to admit a young gentleman of the college, one Mr. Warren, to be his reader in ordinary, who was very useful during his weakness, and deserves to be remembered with much respect.

That continued some time after he left his bed.

After he was enfranchised from his bed, and had the entertainment they call walking about his chamber, and divers friends and acquaintance came and stayed with him, he gathered some little strength. But his levities still continued; and he used to please himself with rehearsing paltry rhymes and fables; and what with difficulty of utterance (for his speech was touched and never perfectly recovered), and what with his unseemly laughing, it was long before he could get any thing well out; and at last he made but broken stuff of it. All this was inexpressible grief and mortification to his friends, seeing that dismal alteration. They had known his genius bright,

and, in his health, solemn, grave, and instructive; and his mirth, when it happened, not without a flow of pleasant wit, and, as it ought to be, ever decent and without offence; far from all suspicion of a possibility that such levity of humour and discourse should ever appear in him. He seemed as a high-flying fowl with one wing cut; the creature offers to fly, and knows no cause why he should not, but always comes, with a side turn, down to the ground. The doctor had some remembrances of his former forces, when he could mount up and fly; now, his instruments, on one side, failing him, he was forced to deal in low concerns, and reptile conceits that scarce rose from the ground.

Epileptic fits followed the palsy, which brought him to his grave.

The doctor lived to recover his faculties of mind, and powers of his body, in some measure; and had it not been for one immense malady that attended the palsy, and held him down, there had been hopes of a competent recovery; and that malady was epileptic fits. These appeared soon after the apoplexy went off. They were gentle at first, but continually invigorated, and every one of them gave him a twitch nearer his grave. And these were esteemed the result of amber smoke. There happen many apoplexies and palsies; but few come off with an epilepsy. These fits came, nearly, after a month's interval; but were not strictly prejudicial, or lunar (as old women dream). Any

disorder, or intention of thought, a little anger, cold, or disappointment, brought them, which made him seek to be as quiet and still as he could. They dejected his spirits to a very great degree, and deprived him of all comfort; and one great unhappiness was that, in his fits, he could not help biting his tongue, and that kept back the recovery of his speech. He found that strong wines helped to put off a fit, which made him, when he suspected one, to desire it as a condemned malefactor does a reprieve, and accordingly he used the strongest sherry, glass after glass, which, formerly, he would have thought more..than a cup too much; but it was a reasonable recruit of his spirits, which, by such fits, were of course overthrown. As the doctor's strength of body decreased, so the malignant fits returned thicker, but more languid; for there was scarce left substance enough to sustain the rancour of them. After they had brought him almost to forget the world, and to spend most of his time upon a couch, which was after near five years from his first stroke, there was very little left for them to do.

During all his weakness, his moral virtues rather increased.

I must here do a piece of justice to the doctor and his memory, by affirming upon my own knowledge, that, during the extremity of his mental weakness, his religious principles, resolution in justice, and good will to the world, which I may

call universal charity, continued as entire and inviolated as they were in the strongest moments of his life, and, respecting his external behaviour, much more zealous than before. Such a trial coming over a man, as this was, if he had worn a mask, or had had the least tinct of hypocrisy, it had gone off, and the pure man appeared as he was. And the consciousness of a well-spent life was of great service to him; else, as happens to weak women, and others in like case, he might have fallen into melancholy, dejections, misconstructions of Providence, despair, and the like extremes of weak minds. But, as I said, whatever the state of his body was, or his capacity of study, his will and moral determinations were not in the least wavering. There never fell a word from him tending to complaint, or discontent at his condition; he would freely relate what he felt, and how, and no more. He governed himself as well as he could; his submission was absolute, and his patience exquisite.

With weakness his judgment recovered strength. Weakness has nothing to do with will.

I have had two observations upon the doctor's case. One is that, in the progress of his disease, as his body grew weaker, his judgment grew stronger; so that his levities wore off, and he became again sociable. After he retired to the college, he dealt in the college affairs with a sense clear enough, though he could not debate, or contend, because of his fits, which any earnestness

brought upon him; and they continually left him weaker. After the first year of his illness, he behaved himself with gravity and respect; and the chief failing, that appeared in him, was an over repetition of gratulatories and compliments, and a greater inclination to silence than formerly he had. The other observation is, that strength, or weakness, of body hath nothing to do with the will and morality in relation to duty and honesty. Nay farther, that strength of parts, or understanding, which in itself is not free, doth not control the will, which is free. And here we are not to argue moral honesty, or knavery, in any man on account of his strength of body or mind; for it is found that the best parts are often joined with the most corrupt natures, witness the famous heretics, politicians, and malefactors. Therefore they are much to blame who argue against any thing of duty from the examples of any persons strong in wit and invention; who, with all their sophistry, may have a corrupt will. Every man hath wit enough to be upright. It may be said that Providence hath dispensed strength of mind unequally; and the like may be pretended of form, beauty, and wealth. But no man can complain for want of free-will, whereby he is justified. Men may be forced to act, but never to will, ill things. Accordingly the doctor, to his last, behaved himself in his college in maintaining

the statutable order, steadily doing justice to the deserving scholars, and discouraging others. Nor was it possible, by any means, fair or foul, to move or corrupt him to any act against his judgment or conscience.

His attempts to preach, or study, stopped by fits.

But now, before we part, I shall add a few words about the doctor's manner of passing his time in his weakness. After he was able to go abroad, and to use his coach, which he did not without much trouble and assistance, he went sometimes to visit his mother near Bury, where he passed his time most easy and to his content, because it was void of all manner of business. He there made the proofs of his ability to preach, and, with much ado, was got into the country pulpit. His matter was very plain and pious; but he laboured under such an invincible want of utterance, and what he did speak was with so much pain and deformity, as rather mortified than edified the congregation; and, at length, he was forced, for fear of his fits, to leave off abruptly. He desired also to resume a little study, and the use of his pen; but his fits said nay. Therefore, finding that all preparation towards any actual exercise of his duty threw him into fits, he was forced to be contented with having a good will, and made his utmost proffers towards it. His mother parted with her woman to be his constant attendant and nurse, and she commonly travelled and went

abroad with him; and, without so good a servant and friend, he had passed his time very painfully. He often went to London, and resided at his prebendary; which was a pleasing variety to him. All the service his friends could do *him*, was to visit and indulge, and converse merrily and freely with him. He did not well bear long visits; especially of those whom he did not much like. If he found a disposition to fits, he called for wine, which re-invigorated his spirits. His best diversion was variety; and he had most of that in London; for he could creep about the cloisters to prayers, and to visit his neighbours.

Charities and devotion constant, retired to Cambridge and died; his epitaph, J. N.

In these marches the beggars had found him out and marked him for their own; and he always carried a cash on purpose for them. They knew his motions as well as if they had been his domestics. He scarce ever failed of giving every one, that asked, something. Always, at his taking coach and lighting, his attendance was great; and whoever was with him must stay till the dole was finished. Sometimes, if he fancied them good people, in a garb of humility, he would ask their prayers, which they plentifully bestowed, in his hearing at least; and probably with a true zeal, for he was the best master they had. These charities were public, and all, besides what must necessarily be so, he affectedly concealed. By his last will he left a full fourth part of all his

estate to be distributed to poor people, which, by his best brother, whom he made his sole executor, and those that came under him, was done. His devotions, besides the public service of the chapel, and churches where he was (which he never failed if he was able), were no less affectedly secreted than his charities; for they were always in perfect privacy, and by himself. He had certainly a sound mind; would to God his body had been so too! About three or four years after his first illness, he made his last retirement to Cambridge, and seemed to bid all his friends adieu; and there he passed the sorry remainder of his life. It was most alone by himself, for his mother was dead, and his most esteemed friends engaged in great dealings above. He declined college business, which, because of his too sensible incapacity, he found he could not administer to his mind. He took most to silence, and, however seldom, yet, when he did speak, it was much to the purpose, and often very pathetic, and, perhaps, being offended, resentingly sarcastic. He frequently wrote to his best brother, which he could, with his sound hand, do at times, and as he found himself easy. I have seen some of those letters, which, as I remember, were in a fervent, or rather flaming style, upon the subjects of his esteem and value, and his own wretched unworthiness. But they are all gone to the fire, or swept

aside and out of my reach. His weakness of body continually increased, and his fits came on quicker. His chief ease was the couch, where he usually lay expecting fits, and wishing for death, the only means to free a limpid soul, as his certainly was, from that dungeon of flesh, in which he lay stuck fast as in a mire. At length, in one of his fits as was supposed, without discovery of any pain, about April 1683, he went out, rather than died. He lies interred in the ante-chapel, as he directed in his lifetime, and, as was noted, nothing significative but J. N. upon a small stone over him. He was desirous, if he could not leave somewhat behind him worthy to be remembered, of which (as I have shown) he never was satisfied, not to be remembered at all.

Marriage, to which he was not averse, might have preserved him.

It may be conjectured that, if he had married, it would have preserved him longer, for the cares of a family are frequent and importune enough, but interrupted. These, compounded with his studies, had relieved both. And he was not at all averse to it, for he used to say that a rich wife was a good benefice; and he found no topic more for his purpose, in rallying his friends, than that. Once he observed that, at one of his best brother's christenings, there was a grievous clutter about gossips, entertainments, nurses, &c. He comes to his brother, and "Seriously," said he, "and as I am a living man, brother, there is more than one

would imagine in that saying,—'Any thing for a quiet life.'" In a word; however the doctor pleased himself with whetting his wit upon his married friends to such a degree as they scarce bore, they yet were pleased; for his girds were oblique, and touched to the quick, but not directly exceptionable; and they commonly brought a shower of like hail upon himself.

The doctor's integrity whole and unimpeached to the last.

I know nothing of exception justly taken to him during his whole life, although he was a scholar almost universally known and observed, unless it were after he came to the government of the college; and then only for his rigorous exaction of duty and order in the scholars, and severe justice in elections. As to the former, he was taken for an innovator, but by the disorderly only; and those carried it so far as to say, his passionate severity (which they called malice) brought his disease upon him. For the other; although the seniors were much piqued at him for not always agreeing with them, it was only among themselves, and in particular cases. Neither side carried it farther into malice and rancour, whence open faction and party-making might flow. The doctor contented himself with the ordinary allowance, and never made any encroachments upon the rights and revenues of the college, nor squandered their monies in decorations, or otherwise, after his own fancy or advantage, to the oppres-

sion of the fellows. If any have done otherwise since, let them go away with the honour of it. And as to the late controversies between the master and his fellows, in which they have on both sides alluded to our doctor's case, it is certain it signified no more to the questions of right depending amongst them, than to the monarchy of Spain. For what was it to the purpose if Dr. North vexed the fellows, or they him, and in some particular instances only, and those not referred to the profit of either, but only to government in the college? but so people, in difference, are apt to scold. I might here insert their several prints; but, having declared the whole matter in itself impertinent, and withal not touching our doctor in any respect, I hope it may be excused. And here I leave the good doctor, freed from his unhappy case of flesh,—but, withal, a bright example of orthodox religion, learning, justice, and good will,—to his eternal rest, and assurance of the rewards of well doing.

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THE END.

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